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CHINOOK

AN ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCH

BY

FRANZ BOAS

EXTRACT FROM HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES (BULLETIN 40), PART 1, OF BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY (BOAS)

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CHINOOK

BY

FRANZ BOAS.

N. A. Lmq. B 63c

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CHINOOK

By Franz Boas

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Chinookan stock embraces a number of closely related dialects which were spoken along both banks of Columbia river from the Cascades to the sea, and some distance up the Willamette valley. The Chinook were neighbors of tribes belonging to many linguistic stocks. In Shoalwater bay and on the lower course of Columbia river, along its northern bank as far as the Cascade range, they came into contact with tribes of the coast division of the Salishan family. On the upper course of Willapa river they were contiguous to a small Athapascan tribe; farther to the east they were surrounded by Sahaptin tribes; in the Willamette valley they bordered on the Molala and Kalapuya. On the southern bank of Columbia river, opposite Cowlitz river, lived another Athapascan tribe whose neighbors they were; while south of the mouth of Columbia river they bordered on the Tillamuk, an isolated branch of the Coast Salish.

The language was spoken in two principal dialects, Upper Chinook and Lower Chinook. The former was spoken on the upper course of Columbia river, as far west as Gray's Harbor on the north bank and a little above Astoria on the south bank of the river. It was subdivided into a number of slightly different dialects. The principal representatives are Kathlamet and Clackamas which were spoken on the lower course of the Columbia river and in the Willamette valley, and Wasco and Wishram which were spoken in the region of The Dalles. The Lower Chinook includes the Clatsop dialect on the south bank of the river (from Astoria downward) and the Chinook proper of the north bank from Grays harbor down, and on Shoalwater bay. The last-named dialect is discussed here.

The name Chinook (*Ts!inu'k*) is the one by which the tribe was known to their northern neighbors, the Chehalis.

The grammar of the Chinook language has been discussed by Horatio Hale,[1] Friederich Müller,[2] Franz Boas,[3] John R. Swanton,[4] and Edward Sapir.[5]

Unless otherwise stated, references in the following sketch refer to page and line in Franz Boas, Chinook Texts.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-13)

§ 2. Vowels

The phonetic system of Chinook is characterized by a superabundance of consonants and consonant-clusters combined with great variability of vowels. Since practically all our information on the Lower Chinook has been derived from one single individual, the last survivor capable of giving intelligent information, there remain many uncertainties in regard to the system of sounds. My informant was in the habit of changing the position of the lips very slightly only. There was, particularly, no strong forward movement of the lips in the vowel *u* and the semivowel *w*. This tendency has been observed in many Indian languages and was probably characteristic of all Chinook speakers. For this reason the *u* and *o* sounds are very slightly differentiated. Obscure vowels are frequent and seem to be related to all long and short vowels.

The system of vowels and semivowels may be written as follows:

Diphthong	Semivowel	Vowels							Semivowel	Diphthong
					E					
	w	*u*	*o*	*ô*	*A*	*ê*	(*E*)	*î*	*y*	
au		*u*	*o*	(*ô*)	*a*	*ê*	(*e*)	*i*		*ai*
		ū	*ō*	*â*	*ā*	*ë*	*ē*	(*ī*)		

While the *o* and *u* sounds are indistinct, owing to the similarity of lip-positions, the *e* and *i* sounds seemingly alternate in accordance with the character of the adjoining sounds. They assume a decided *i* tinge by contact with a following *a*, or when following an anterior palatal. There is no strong retraction of the lips, but a considerable

[1] Wilkes Expedition, Ethnography and Philology, 562–564. See also *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, II, xxiii-clxxxviii; Hale's Indians of Northwest America and Vocabularies of North America; with an Introduction by Albert Gallatin.

[2] Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, II, 254–256. Vienna, 1882.

[3] Notes on the Chinook Language, *American Anthropologist*, 55–63, 1893; Chinook Texts, *Bulletin 20 of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1894; Kathlamet Texts, *Bulletin 26 of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1901; The Vocabulary of the Chinook Language, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., VI, 118–147, 1904.

[4] Morphology of the Chinook Verb, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., II, 199–237, 1900.

[5] Preliminary Report on the Language and Mythology of the Upper Chinook, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., IX, 533–544; Wishram Texts, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, II, 1909.

linguo-palatal constriction. In the short vowel the *i* character is rather accentuated. In the long vowel the *e* character predominates, unless contact and contrast phenomena emphasize the *i* character. *ô* seems to occur only with *k* sounds and is probably due to an assimilation of short *a*. *â* is rare and seems to occur only in onomatopoetic words. *ê* and *ä* are also of peculiar character. *ä* seems to be always either a rhetorical broadening of *ē* (as in *ä'ka* for *ē'ka*), or an onomatopoetic element which is frequent as terminal sound in interjections. The *a* series is related to the *o* and *u* series in so far as *a* may be transformed into *o* or *u*, while *e* and *i* can never be thus transformed. We will designate the *o* and *u* sounds as *u*-series and the *e* and *i* sounds as *i*-series. The only diphthongs that occur are *au* and *ai*. Doubled vowels, unless separated by a consonantic glottal stop, do not seem to occur. Short *i* and *u* when preceding vowels have always consonantic values.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonants consist of labials, dentals, and a very full series of palatals. There are also a number of *l* sounds. I did not succeed, however, in distinguishing these satisfactorily. There is also much confusion regarding surds and sonants, not only because the sonant has greater stress than our sonant, but also on account of the occurrence of a labial sound with semiclosure of the nose and weak lip-closure, which is therefore intermediate between *b*, *m*, and *w*, with prevalent *m* character. Between vowels the sound approaches a *b*. The occurrence of *d* is also doubtful. Each stop occurs as fortis and surd.

The series of consonants may be represented as follows:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Semi-nasal	Nasal	Lateral	Semi-vowels
Glottal	ʔ	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Velar	(*g*ʔ)	*q*	*q!*	*x*	–	–	–	
Palatal	*g*	*k*	*k!*	*x̣*	–	–	–	
Anterior palatal	(*g*·ʔ)	*k*·	*k*·*!*	*x*·	–	–	–	
Alveolar	(*d*ʔ)	*t*	*t!*	*s*, *c*	–	*n*	(*l*)	(*y*)
Dento-alveolar affricative	–	*ts*, *tc*	*ts!*, *tc!*	–	–	–	–	
Labial	–	*p*	*p!*	–	*m*	*m*	–	(*w*)
Lateral	*Ḷ*	*L*	*L!*	*l*, *l*	–	–	–	

The alveolar *s*, *c*, and the affricative *ts*, *tc*, are pronounced with open teeth. The two *m*'s are not distinguished, since the former occurs only before vowels. It is doubtful if they represent two really distinct sounds.

The glottal stop and the velar surd are closely related, the former often taking the place of the latter. An omission of a *q* after a stop transforms the latter into a fortis. I have placed *l* and *n* in the same line, on account of their frequent alternation. Since the glottal stop, velars, palatals, and anterior palatals have certain peculiarities in common, we will designate them as *k* sounds. The consonants of the anterior palatal series have a decided affricative character, which is least prominent in the fortis. The medial palatal *k* and the velar *q* appear also as affricatives. In these cases the continued sound appears so long, that I have written them as *kx* and *qx*.

The language admits of extensive consonantic clusters, and I have not been able to discover any sequence of consonants that is inadmissible except that clusters consisting of a stop followed by *m* and *n* seem to be avoided.

§ 4. Phonetic Laws

Nevertheless we find complex phonetic laws. These may be classed in nine groups:

(1) Effects of accent.
(2) Laws of vocalic harmony.
(3) Laws of consonantic assimilation.
(4) Vocalization of consonants.
(5) Vowel changes.
(6) Metathesis.
(7) Dieresis.
(8) Contraction.
(9) Weakening and strengthening of consonants.

Only the first two of these laws are purely phonetic, while the others are restricted to certain grammatical forms. Groups 2–5 are changes due to contact phenomena.

Effects of Accent (§§ 5, 6)

The accent affects the character of the vowel upon which it falls and modifies consonants in so far as certain consonants or consonantic clusters are not tolerated when they precede the accent. On the whole, these changes are confined to the Lower Chinook, but they occur also in part in the western dialects of the Upper Chinook.

§ 5. *Vocalic Changes*

1. Vocalic changes consist in the introduction of an ɛ in an accented consonantic cluster which consists of a combination of stems. The ɛ is inserted after the accented consonantic stem. The same change occurs in Kathlamet, while it is absent in Wishram.

a-tcɛ'-ɬ-a-x he made it (*a-* aorist; *tc-* he; *ɬ-* it; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)
a-gɛ'-ɬ-a-x she made it (*a-* aorist; *g-* she; *ɬ-* it; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)
tɛ'-kɛmôn ashes (*t-* plural gender)

2*a*. Accented short *u*, when followed by *m*, *n*, or *l* which are followed by vowels, becomes *uā'*.

iā'gunat his salmon — *iguā'nat* salmon
tq!ulipχunā'yu youths — *iq!uā'lipχ* youth

2*b*. Accented ɛ and short *a*, when followed by *m*, *n*, or *l* which are followed by vowels, become *ā*. The short vowels *i* and *u*, when followed by vowels, have consonantic values and affect preceding ɛ and *a* in the same manner.

icā'yim grizzly-bear — *icāyā'mukc* grizzly-bears
xā'pɛnic giving herself in payment to shaman — *pā'nic* to give in payment to shaman
aqtā'witχ he gives them to them 249.13

Accented *i* followed by an *a* or *u* vowel becomes *āy*.

atciā'x he is accustomed to make him — *atcā'yax* he makes him
mɬopiā'ɬxa you will gather it — *agiupā'yaɬx* she gathered him

Here belong also the terminal changes of *ē* in plural forms:

ī'ck!alē clam basket — *ɬck!alā'yuks* clam baskets
ōcuē'ē frog — *tcueā'yuks* frogs

Compare with this the following cases, where *n* and *l* belong to consonantic clusters:

nēxɛ'l^{ɛ}ōkō he awoke
mɛ'nx·i a little while

In one case ɛ accented changes to *ā* before *x:*

ɬlā'lɛx bird — *tlalā'xukc* birds

All these changes given under 2 are confined to Lower Chinook. They do not occur in Kathlamet and Wishram.

§ 6. *Consonantic Changes*

Consonantic changes due to accent are as follows:

(1) A *k* following the accented syllable tends to become the affricative *kx̣*.

kā'tsɛk middle	*ō'kx̣ōtsɛk* middle daughter
igē'lx̣tcutk flint	*oyā'kx̣ilx̣tcutk* his flint arrow-point

(2) When the vowel following the cluster *lx̣* is accented, the *x̣* is dropped.

ē'lx̣am town	*ilē'ē* country
atciō'lx̣am he said to him	*tciolā'ma* he will say to him
ukō'lx̣ul mouse	*ukolō'luks* mice

(3) In words in which a *q* follows the accented syllable it changes to ˀ when the accent shifts to a syllable following the *q*. When the *q* follows the surds *p* and *t*, these are changed to the corresponding fortes:

ʟā'qauwîlqt its blood	*ʟˀā'wîlqt* blood
ē'qēʟ creek	*t!ā'ʟɛma* creeks
uyā'qalɛptckix· his fire	*ōˀō'lɛptckix·* fire
ʟā'qana its beavers	*ēˀē'na* beaver

This change takes place also when the accent remains on the syllable preceding the *q*, when the vowel following the *q* is short.

ō'qōʟ fish-weir	*ōyā'ˀaʟ* his fish-weir

These changes mark a phonetic differentiation of Upper and Lower Chinook. In Upper Chinook the *q* is preserved almost throughout; while in Lower Chinook it tends to be replaced by the glottal stop ˀ; —when following *p* and *t* by the corresponding fortis,—whenever the accents stand after *q*, or when it is followed by a short syllable, or when it is terminal.

Kathlamet	Chinook	
wā'yaq	*ō'yaˀ*	his mother
ʟiā'paqa	*ʟiā'paˀa*	his nape
isɛmɛ'lq	*isā'mɛlˀ*	nose-ornament
ēqē'paqte	*ēˀē'paqte*	beam
tiā'qoit	*tiāˀwit*	his legs
tqu'ʟē	*t!ōʟ*	house

The process of modification is, however, incomplete, since we find a number of Chinook words that retain the *q*.

ēqtq head	*ai'aq* quick
ē'cɛlqcɛlq porcupine	*ʟtcuq* water

Here may also be mentioned the loss of terminal *x* and *x·*, which is characteristic of Upper Chinook, in many Lower Chinook forms.

Kathlamet	Chinook	
imō'lɛkumax	*imō'lɛkuma*	elks
tqā'ɬɛmax	*t!ā'ɬɛma*	creeks
mā'ɬnix·	*mā'ɬnē*	seaward

Other characteristic changes are from Upper Chinook *t* to Lower Chinook *s*, as in—

Kathlamet	Chinook	
tqā'totinikc	*tqā'sosinikc*	boys
anixɛnɛmō'txēm	*anix·ɛnɛmō'sx·ɛm*	I fooled him

and from Upper Chinook *s* to Lower Chinook *tc̓t*.

Kathlamet	Chinook	
ē'mas	*ē'matct*	shame
anō'suwulx̣t	*anō'tctuwulx̣t*	I went up on the water

§ 7. Laws of Vocalic Harmony

When a *u* vowel precedes a *k* sound, and the *k* sound is either followed by a vowel or is a prefix, it must be followed by a vowel of the *u-* series. The following special cases may be distinguished:

(1) An obscure vowel following the *k* sound is transformed into short *u*.

ō'pɬ!ike bow — *ōgu'pɬ!ikē* my bow (with prefix *-gɛ-* my [§ 18])

(2) *a* following a *k* sound is transformed into *o* or *u*.

ik!ā'ckc boy — *ōk!ō'ckc* girl
ikanī'm canoe — *ōkunī'm* canoes

(3) An *e* sound following a *k* sound requires a *u* before the *e* sound.

aɬgē'pxatē alder country — *oguē'pxatē'* alder-bark tree
ɬᵉā'gil a woman — *ōᵉō'guil* the woman

(4) If the *k* sound is a prefix, it is considered as a phonetic unit and an *o* is inserted following the *k* sound, even if it is followed by a consonant.

nā'xɬxa she begins to burn — *nō'xōɬxa* they begin to burn
ē'ktcxam he sang — *ō'kōtcxam* they sang

The following examples show that the rule does not hold good in consonantic clusters that form a stem.

atcō'ktcktamit he roasts her (stem *-ktckt*) — *ōqct* louse

§ 8. Consonantic Assimilation

It is doubtful whether there is a single case of consonantic assimilation that is purely phonetic, not dependent on the grammatical value of the consonants involved. For instance, the assimilation of *l* by preceding and following *n*, observed in *nō'pōnɛm* IT GETS DARK (from *ō'pōl* NIGHT), finds no strict analogies in other similar sound groups. An assimilation of *l* by preceding *n* is found whenever the *l* is a frequentative suffix (§ 31).

aksō'pɛna he jumps — *aksō'pɛnan* he jumps about (instead of *aksō'pɛnal*)

What is apparently an assimilation of *l* by preceding *n* is also found in cases of insertion which occur with the suffix *-ʟ* (see § 31.8).

§ 9. Vocalization of Consonants

1 *l* and *n* show a peculiar behavior when occurring in the prefixes *-gɛl-*, *-xɛl-*, and *-ᵉɛl;* or the corresponding *-gɛn-* and *-xɛn* (§ 25). Whenever these prefixes are preceded by *o*, the *l* and *n* become *ē*, so that the prefixes assume the forms *-(o)goē-*, *(o)xoē-*, *-(o)ᵉwē.*

agigɛ'lxēm she called him — *nōgoēxē'ma* I shall call them
axɛnō'tēn he helped sing — *nōxoēxō'tēn* they helped sing

In other cases the combinations *kul* and *kōl* are admissible, as in

ōkō'lx̣ul mouse — *ōkulā'm* surf

2. The intransitive *t* of the third person plural (§ 21) becomes *o* before all *k* sounds, and also before adverbial *l* and *n* (§ 25).

§ 10. Vowel Changes

The verbal prefix *-ō-* (§ 26), when accented and preceding a *k* sound or a *w*, becomes *a*.

aniō'cgam I took him — *aniā'waᵉ* I killed him

This change does not take place in Upper Chinook.

igiō'waq (Kathlamet), *agiā'waᵉ* (Chinook) she killed him

Unaccented *o* does not change in this position.

ā'noxtk I steal her — *ayowā'x̄it* he is pursued 261.1

§ 11. Metathesis

Metathesis seems to be confined to cases in which two suffixes are thoroughly amalgamated; for instance, *-ako* and *-ʟ* combined form *-alukʟ* (§ 30).

§ 12. Dieresis and Contraction

1. Dieresis is confined to the formation of a few verbal plurals, in which the vowel is expanded by insertion of the syllable *-yu*. Presumably the expansion is related to the dieresis of accented *i* (see § 5). It seems, however, quite possible that this is really a suffix *-yu* indicating the distributive. (See § 38.6.)

Singular	Plural
-x^{e}ōt	*-x^{e}ōyut* to bathe
-xɛlatck	*-xɛlāyutck* to rise

2. A short *a*, when preceding or following *ā* and *ū*, is contracted with these vowels, which remain unchanged. In the same way *i* is contracted with a following *ī* or *ē*.

ōc she is (instead of *a-ōc*)

atciungō'mit he causes him to run (instead of *atciungō'-amit*)

ē'lχam country (instead of *i-ē'lχam*)

§ 13. Weakening and Strengthening of Consonants

A modification of significance is brought about by a modification of consonants.[1] This phenomenon was discovered by Dr. Edward Sapir in Upper Chinook, but it occurred undoubtedly also in Lower Chinook. The relation of consonants in Upper Chinook is as follows:

b, p hardened become *p!*
d, t hardened become *t!*
g, k hardened become *k!*
g, q hardened become *k!*

p, p! softened become *b*
t, t! softened become *d*
k, k! softened become *g*
q, q! softened become *g*

Similar relations are found between the sibilants:

tc! hardened becomes *ts!*
tc hardened becomes *ts*
c hardened becomes *s, ts*
ts hardened becomes *ts!*

s softened becomes *c*
ts softened becomes *tc*
ts! softened becomes *tc!*

The hardened *x* becomes *χ*. (Cf. § 53.)

§ 14. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

According to their grammatical forms, Chinook words may be grouped in two large classes—syntactic words and particles. While the former, except in exclamations, always contain pronominal and other elements that define their function in the sentence, the latter occur as independent and isolated words. The elements of the syn-

[1] See Edward Sapir, l. c., 537.

tactic words are often phonetically weak, and consist sometimes of single consonants, of consonantic clusters, of single vowels, or of weak monosyllables. In combination these may form polysyllabic words. The particles are necessarily of such phonetic character that they can stand by themselves. For these reasons, both classes of words appear as fixed phonetic and formal units, so that in Chinook there can be no doubt as to the limits of words.

The grammatical processes applied with these two classes of words differ. Some of the particles may be duplicated, while duplication and reduplication never occur in syntactic words. Particles when transformed into syntactic words may, however, retain their duplications. Syntactic words are modified by means of prefixes and suffixes and by modification of the stem, which, however, is probably always of phonetic origin. Prefixes are much more numerous than suffixes, but are phonetically weaker, rarely consisting of more than a single sound. They appear in considerable numbers in single words. Six prefixes in one word are not by any means unusual. The number of suffixes that may appear in combination is more limited. They are phonetically stronger. More than two or three suffixes are rarely found in one word.

Word-composition is not infrequent. However, some of the elements which enter into composition rarely appear alone, or rather, combined with syntactic elements only. They represent principally a definite group of local ideas, and therefore give the impression of being affixes rather than independent stems. These words are, for instance, motion into, out of, up, down (see § 27). Setting aside compound words of this class, composition of independent stems, or rather of stems which are used with syntactic elements only, is infrequent. Nouns are, however, largely of complex origin, and in many of them stems and affixes may be recognized, although the significance of these elements is not known to us.

The position of the word is quite free, while the order of the constituent elements of syntactic words is rigidly fixed.

§ 15. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

In discussing the ideas expressed by means of grammatical forms, it seems best to begin with syntactic words. All syntactic relations of these are expressed by pronominal and adverbial prefixes. Syn-

tactic words may be divided into three classes that receive different treatment—transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, and nouns. All of these have in common that they must contain pronominal elements, which in the first class are subjective and objective, while in the other two classes they are objective (from the Indo-European point of view, subjective). The noun is therefore closely associated with the intransitive verb, although it is not identical with it. It retains, to a certain extent, a predicative character, but is in form partly differentiated from the intransitive verb.

The differentiation of transitive and intransitive is contained in the pronominal elements. The subject of the transitive differs in some cases from that of the intransitive, which is in form identical with the objective form of the transitive.

The relations of nouns are expressed by possessive pronouns, which seem to be remotely related to the subjective transitive pronouns. Owing to the predicative character of the noun, the possessive form has partly the meaning HAVING.

Both intransitive and transitive verbs may contain indirect pronominal objects. These are expressed by objective pronouns. Their particular relation to the verb is defined by elements indicating the ideas of FOR, TO, WITH, etc. The possessive relations of subject and object—*i. e.*, the possession of one of the objects by the subject, or of the indirect object by the direct object, and vice versa—are also expressed.

All the syntactic relations between the verb and the nouns of the sentence must be expressed by means of pronominal and adverbial elements incorporated in the verb, so that the verb is the skeleton of the sentence, while the nouns or noun-groups held together by possessive pronouns are mere appositions. Certain locative affixes which express the syntactic relations of nouns occur in the dialect of the Cascades; but these seem to have been borrowed from the Sahaptin.

The function of each pronominal element is clearly defined, partly by the differentiation of forms in the transitive and intransitive verbs, partly by the order in which they appear and by the adverbial elements mentioned before.

In the pronoun, singular, dual, and plural are distinguished. There is an inclusive and an exclusive in dual and plural, the exclusive being related to the first person. The second persons dual and

plural are related to the second person singular. The third person singular has three genders—masculine, feminine, and neuter—and a single form each for dual and plural. These forms are not only true sex and number forms, but agree also with a generic classification of nouns which is based on sex and number.

The nominal stem itself has no characteristic of gender, which is expressed solely in the pronoun. The sex and number origin of the genders is clear, but in the present status of the language the genders are as irregularly distributed as those of Indo-European languages. These genders are expressed in the incorporated pronominal representative of the noun, and since there is generally sufficient variety in the genders of the nouns of the sentences, clearness is preserved even when the order of the nouns in apposition is quite free.

Besides the sex and number classes we find a classification in human beings on the one hand and other beings and objects on the other. These are expressed in the numeral, the demonstrative, and in plural forms of nouns.

It was stated before, that, in the pronoun, duality and plurality are distinguished. In the noun, a true plural, not pronominal in character, is found only in some words. These were evidently originally the class of human beings, although at present the use of this nominal plural is also irregular. Furthermore, a true distributive is found, which, however, has also become irregular in many cases. Its original significance is discernible in numeral adverbs (§ 38). A distributive is also found in a small number of verbal stems.

There are few nominal affixes of clear meaning, and very few that serve to derive nouns from verbal stems. There are only two important classes of verbal nouns which correspond to the relative sentence THE ONE WHO— and to the past-passive relative sentence WHAT IS —ED; of these two the latter coincides with ordinary nouns, while the former constitutes a separate class. Still another class contains local nouns, WHERE— (§ 40).

Demonstrative pronouns form a class by themselves. They contain the personal pronouns of the third person, but also purely demonstrative elements which indicate position in relation to the three persons, and, in Lower Chinook, present and past tense, or visibility and invisibility.

Only a few modifications of the verb are expressed by incorporated elements. These are the temporal ideas—in Lower Chinook those of

future and perfect and of the indefinite aoristic time, to which are added in Upper Chinook several other past tenses. In some cases these temporal elements express rather ideas that may be termed transitional and continuative. There is a series of semitemporal suffixes expressing the inchoative and varieties of frequentatives; and also a number of directive prefixes, which seem to express the direction of the action in relation to the speaker.

All other ideas are expressed by particles. A somewhat abnormal position among these is occupied by the numerals from 2 to 9 and by a very few adjectives. These numerals are nouns when they are used as ordinals; when used as adjectives, they are generally particles; when referring to human beings, they are nouns of peculiar form (§ 51).

Most remarkable among the particles is a long series of words, many of which are onomatopoetic and which are mostly used to express verbal ideas. In this case the verbal relation is expressed by an auxiliary verb which signifies TO DO, TO MAKE, or TO BE. These words exhibit a gradation from purely interjectional terms to true adverbial or, more generally, attributive forms. They are analogous to our English forms like BANG WENT THE GUN, or DING DONG MADE THE BELLS, and merge into forms like HE WAS TIRED. If we imagine the word TIRED pronounced with imitative gestures and expression, it attains the value that these particles have in Chinook. The number of these words is considerable, and they take the place of many verbs. Most of them can be used only with verbs like TO DO and TO GO. Other adverbs differ from this class in that they are used with other verbs as well. There is no clear distinction between these adverbs and conjunctions.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 16-56)

Syntactic Words (§§ 16-45)

§16. Structure of Syntactic Words

All syntactic words contain pronominal elements which give them a predicative character. A few seem to contain only the pronominal element and the stem, but by far the greater number contain other elements besides. Most words of this class are built up by composition of a long series of elements, all of which are phonetically too

weak to stand alone. The most complex of these words contain all the elements of the sentence. Their order is as follows:

(1) Modal element (transitional, participial).

(2) Pronominal elements.

(*a*) Subject.

(*b*) First object.

(*c*) Second object.

(3) Following one of these may stand an element expressing the possessive relation between the subject and the objects.

(4) Adverbial prefixes.

(5) Direction of verbal action.

(6) Verbal stem, single or compound.

(7) Adverbial suffixes.

These elements are, of course, hardly ever all represented in one word. Following are a few characteristic examples of these words:

a-m-ɪ-a-x-cg-ā′m-x thou wert in the habit of taking it from her

a- aorist (1, see § 17)

m- thou, subject (2*a*, see § 18)

ɪ- it, object (2*b*, see § 18)

a- her, second object (2*c*, see § 18)

-x- indicates that IT belongs to HER (3, see § 24)

Elements 4 and 5 are not represented.

-cg- stem TO TAKE (6)

-am completive (7*a*, see § 29)

-x usitative (7*b*, see § 32)

tc-t-a-l-ō′-t-a he will give them to her

tc- he, subject (2*a*, see § 18)

t- them, object (2*b*, see § 18)

a- her, second object (2*c*, see § 18)

-l- to (4, see § 25)

-o- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)

-ot- stem TO GIVE (6)

-a future (7, see § 32)

Elements 1 and 3 are not represented.

There are, of course, transitive verbs with but one object. In most intransitive verbs all the elements relating to the object disappear and the form of the word becomes comparatively simple.

ɪ-ō-c it is

ɪ it, subject (2*a*, see § 18)

-ō- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)

-c stem TO BE, singular (6)

Complex intransitive forms are, however, not rare.

tɛ-n-xɛ-l-ā'-x-ō they will be on me

t(ɛ)- they, subject (2*a*, see § 18)

n- me, indirect object (2*c*, see § 18)

-x(ɛ)- indicates that THEY belong to ME (3, see § 24)

-l- to (4, see § 25)

-ā- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)

-x stem TO DO, TO BE (6)

-ō future (7, see § 32)

Nouns are similar to simple intransitive verbs, but they have (or had) nominal (modal) prefixes. They have no directive elements. They may take possessive forms which do not appear in the verb. The order of elements in the noun is the following:

(1*) Nominal (modal) element.

(2*) Pronominal elements.

(*a**) Subjective.

(*b**) Possessive.

(3*) Nominal stem, single or compound.

(4*) Suffixes:

W-ā'-lɛmlɛm Rotten-wood (a place name)

w- nominal prefix (1*)

a- subjective feminine (2 *a**)

-lɛmlɛm stem ROTTEN WOOD (3*)

ē'-mē-qtq thy head

ē- subjective masculine (2 *a**)

-mē- possessive second person (2 *b**)

-qtq- stem HEAD (3*)

In the following sections these component elements will be taken up in order.

§ 17. *Modal Elements*

1. ***a-***. This prefix indicates a transitional stage, a change from one state into another. Therefore it may be translated in intransitive verbs by TO BECOME. In transitive verbs it is always used when there is no other element affixed which expresses ideas contradictory to the transitional, like the perfect, future, or nominal ideas. In the transitive verb it appears, therefore, on the whole as an aoristic tense. The action passing from the subject to a definite object is in Chinook always considered as transitional (transitive), since it implies a change of condition of object and subject. In the Kathlamet dialect of the Upper Chinook the corresponding prefix is *i-*.

Whenever the *a-* stands before a vocalic element, its place is taken by *n-*. The masculine *i-* preceding a vowel has consonantic character, and retains, therefore, the *a-*. In Kathlamet *n-* is used under the same conditions; but, besides, a form occurs beginning with *i-*, which is followed by a *-g-*.

Intransitive, before consonant:

a-ʟ-ᴇ′-k·im it said (*a-* transitional; *ʟ-* it; *-k·im* to say)
a-n-ō′-tx̣-uit I began to stand (*a-* transitional; *n-* I; *-ō-* directive; *-tx̣* to stand; *-uit* to be in a position)

Intransitive, before vowel:

n-ē′-k·im he said (*n-* transitional; *ē-* he; *-k·im* to say)
n-ō′-x-o-x they became (*n-* transitional; *ō-* they; *-x* reflexive; *-o-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO, TO BE)

Transitive:

a-tcᴇ′-t-a-x he did them (*a-* transitional; *tc-* he; *t-* them; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO)

The following examples are taken from the Kathlamet dialect:

Intransitive, before consonant:

i-ʟ-ᴇ′-k·im it said; Kathlamet texts 99.4 (analysis as before)
i-m-x̣a-t-k!oā-mam you came home *ibid*, 132.15 (*m* -thou; *-x̣* (*a*)- reflexive; *-t-* coming; *-k!oa* to go home; *-(m)am* to arrive)

Intransitive, before vowel:

i-g-ē′-x̣-k!oa he went home *ibid*. 169.6 (*-ē-* he; *-x̣-* reflexive)
i-g-ā-x̣-k!oa she went home *ibid*. 191.8

Transitive:

i-q-i-ō′-lx̣am somebody told him *ibid*. 169.7 (*-q* somebody; *i-* him; *-ō* directive; *-lx̣am* to tell)
i-gᴇ′-t-u-x she acted on them *ibid*. 217.16 (*gᴇ-* she; *t-* them; *-u-* directive; *-x* to do)

2. ***ni-***. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It takes the form *nig-* before vowels, like the preceding. It occurs in transitive and intransitive verbs. It expresses a somewhat indefinite time past, and is used in speaking of events that happened less than a year or so ago, yet more than a couple of days ago. (E. Sapir.)

ni-y-u′ya he went (*ni-* past; *-y-* he; *-uya* to go)
nig-u′ya she went (the same before vocalic element; *-a-* she, being contracted with *-u-* into *-u*)
ni-tc-i-gil-kᴇl he saw him (*ni-* past; *-tc-* he; *-i-* him; *gil-* verbal prefix; *-kᴇl* to see)

3. ***a-.*** This prefix is confined to the intransitive verbs of the Upper Chinook (Kathlamet), and indicates the future. When followed by a vowel, it takes the form *al-*.

a-m-ō'-kɪ-a thou wilt carry her (*a-* future; *m-* thou; *ō-* contracted for *a-* her and *ō-* directive; *-kɪ* stem TO CARRY; *-a* future)

Before vowel:

al-ō'-mɛ-qt-a she will die (*al-* future; *-ō-* contracted for *a-* she and *-ō-* directive; *-mɛqt* stem TO DIE; *-a* future)

In the dialects east of the Kathlamet it is used also with transitive verbs (Sapir).

a-tc-i-gɛ'l-kɛl-a he will see her (*a-* future; *-tc-* he; *-i-* him; *-gɛl-* verbal prefix; *-kɛl* to see; *-a* future)

4. ***ga-,*** before vowels ***gal-.*** This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It expresses time long past, and is always used in the recital of myths (Sapir).

ga-y-u'ya he went (see analysis under 2)
gal-u'ya she went (see analysis under 2)
ga-tc-i-gɛ'l-kɛl he saw him (see analysis under 2)

n- may be used in place of this prefix.

5. ***na-,*** before vowels ***nal-.*** This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It refers to recent time exclusive of to-day, more specifically to yesterday. Its use is analogous to that of the preceding. (E. Sapir.)

6. ***k-, g-.*** This prefix has nominal significance, and designates THE ONE WHO IS, DOES, OR HAS.

k-tgɛ'-ka-l those who fly (*k-* nominal; *-tgɛ* they; *-ka* to fly; *-l* always)

k-ck-t-a-xō'-il those two who always make them; (*ck-* they two [transitive subject]; *-t-* them; *-a-* directive before *-x;* *-xō-il* to work always)

This prefix is used most frequently with nouns in possessive form, designating THE ONE WHO HAS.

g-i-tā'-ki-kɛl-al those who have the power of seeing (*i-* masculine, *-tā-* their; *-ki-* indicates that there is no object; *-kɛl* to see; *-al* always)

g-i-lā'-ma^{ɛ} the one who is shot (*i-* masculine; *-lā-* its; *-ma^{ɛ}* the condition of being shot)

k-lā'qēwam the one who has shamanistic power (*-lā-* its; *-qēwam* shaman's song)

7. ***w-***. This seems to have been at one time the prefix which characterized nouns. It is no longer in general use, but persists in a few terms like *wē'wuLē* INTERIOR OF HOUSE, *wē'koa* DAY (Kathlamet), *wēlx* COUNTRY (Kathlamet), and in geographical names like *WapLō'tci* SALAL-BERRIES ON STUMP. It is always followed by the masculine or feminine intransitive pronoun. Its former general use may be inferred from the pronominal form *ō-* of all feminine nouns, which is probably a contraction of *w-* and the ordinary intransitive feminine pronoun *a-*. In Upper Chinook the forms *wi-* and *wa-* are preserved before short words. There is no trace of the former existence of this prefix before the pronominal forms of neuter, dual, and plural, all of which are consonantic, while masculine and feminine are both vocalic (*ē-* and *a-*). It seems probable that its use, like that of *n-*, was confined to vocalic pronouns (§ 17.1).

8. ***na-***. This is a nominal prefix indicating locality. It occurs principally in place names, *Nakōt!ā't* (see § 40).

§ 18. *Pronominal Elements*

It has been stated that the pronominal elements in the verb are subject, first object, second object. The whole series occurs in some transitive verbs only. In form, the subject of the transitive verb is somewhat differentiated from the other forms, while the objective pronouns coincide with the subjects of the intransitive, and are closely related to the personal pronouns which appear attached to nouns.

The possessive has a series of peculiar forms. In the noun the order is personal pronoun, possessive pronoun. Thus the pronouns may be divided into three large groups, which may be called transitive, intransitive, and possessive.

TABLE OF PRONOUNS

	Transitive	Intransitive	Possessive
1st person	*n-*	*n-*	*-tcE- -gE-*
Exclusive dual	*nt-*	*nt-*	*-nt-*
Exclusive plural	*ntc-*	*ntc-*	*-ntc-*
Inclusive dual	*tx-*	*tx-*	*-tx-*
Inclusive plural	*lx-*	*lx-*	*-lx-*
2d person singular	*m-*	*m-*	*-m-*
2d person dual	*mt-*	*mt-*	*-mt-*
2d person plural	*mc-*	*mc-*	*-mc-*

	Transitive	Intransitive	Possessive
3d person singular, masculine	*tc-*	*i-*	*-i-*
3d person singular, feminine	*g-*	*a-*	*-tca- -ga-*
3d person singular, neuter	*ʟ-*	*ʟ-*	*-ʟ-*
3d person dual	*c-*	*c- ct-*	*-ct-*
3d person plural	*t-*	*t-* (*ō-, n-, a-*)	*-t- -g-*
Indefinite	*q-*	–	–

It will be seen from this list that most of the forms in the three series are identical. A differentiation exists in the first person and in the third person singular (masculine and feminine). In all these forms the exclusive appears as the dual and plural of the first person, while the inclusive seems to be characterized by the terminal *-x-*. *n-* may be interpreted as the first person, *m-* as the second person, *t-* as the characteristic of the dual, and *c* as that of the plural of these persons.

The third person plural exhibits a number of irregularities which will be discussed in § 21.

§ 19. *The Post-Pronominal g*

In a number of cases these pronouns are followed by the sound *g*, which, judging from its irregular occurrence in the present form of the language, may have had a wider application in former times.

(1) The transitive subject (except the first and second persons singular, the third person singular masculine and feminine, and the indefinite *q*) is followed by *g* or *k*, which give to the preceding pronoun its transitive value.

a-ʟ-k-ʟ-ā′-wa^{e} it killed it (*a-* transitional; *ʟ-* neuter subject; *-k-* prefix giving the preceding *ʟ-* its transitive character; *-ʟ-* neuter object; *-a-* directive; *-wa*^{e} stem TO KILL)

a-t-k-ʟ-ō′-cg-am they took it (*a-* transitional; *t-* they; *-k-* [as above]; *ʟ-* neuter object; *-cg* stem TO TAKE; *-am* completion)

a-n-ʟ-ō′-cg-am I took it (same as last, but with *n-* I as subject, which does not take the following *-k-*)

When followed by a vowel (including *ᴇ*), the *-k-* sound is more like a sonant, and has been written *-g-*. When the subject pronoun is accented, the *ᴇ*, which carries the accent, follows the *g*, so that the transitive pronoun and the *-g-* form a unit.

a-ʟ-g-i-ō′-cg-am it took him (same as above, but with *ʟ-* IT as subject, followed by *-g-* instead of *-k-* before *i-*, which is masculine object)

a-tg-ᴇ′-t-a-x they do them.

(2) The intransitive subject third person plural is followed by *g* in two cases.

(*a*) When the subject *t* would normally precede the directive element *-ō-* (§ 26.1), this element is omitted, and instead the *t* is followed by *g*.

a-y-ō′-ẋunē he drifted 24.15 (*a-* transitional; *y-* for *i-* before *ō* HE; *-ō-* directive; *-ẋɛnē* stem TO DRIFT)

a-t-gɛ′-ẋɛnē they drift 38.10 (*a-* transitional; *t-* they; *-g-* inserted after subject; *-ɛ-* carries accent [§ 5.1]; *-ẋɛnē* stem TO DRIFT)

(*b*) When the subject *t* is changed to *ō* before *k* stems (§ 9.2; § 21), the *g* follows it when the *k* sound is a stop. It seems, however, more likely that originally this element had *ā* following the *g*.

n-ē′-k·im he said 107.2 (*n-* transitional before vowel [§ 17.1]; *ē-* he; *-k·im-* stem TO SAY)

n-ō-gō′-koim they say 266.5 (*n-* as above; *-o-* third person plural before *k* sound; *-g-* following third person plural before *k* stop; *ō* inserted according to phonetic law [§ 7.4]; *-koim, -k·im* stem TO SAY; *o* inserted according to § 7.3)

(3) The possessive pronoun of the third person plural in neuter and plural nouns has the form *-g-*, which probably stands for *tg-*, the *t* being elided between the neuter prefix *ɬ* and the plural prefix *t* respectively, and the *g*. Thus we have

t-g-ā′-qtq-a-kc their heads 165.9 (*t-* plural; *-g-* for *tg-* their; *-ā-* vowel following possessive [§ 23]; *-qtq* stem HEAD; *-a-* connective vowel depending upon terminal consonant of stem; *-kc* plural suffix [§ 38.1])

ɬ-g-ā′-xauyam-t-ikc their poverty 13.18 (*ɬ-* neuter; *-g-* for *tg-* their; *-ā-* vowel following possessive [§23]; *-xauyam* poverty; *-t-ikc* plural with connective sound [§ 38.1])

It appears that the *g* occurs most frequently following the third person plural. It seems probable that in these cases, at least, it is derived from the same source. Whether the *g* after the transitive pronoun is of the same origin, is less certain, although it seems likely. This *g* never occurs after objects. The rules given above have the effect that the *g* can not occur in intransitive verbs which contain a reflexive element and in intransitive verbs with indirect objects. It is possible that this may be explained as due to the fact that *all* intransitive pronouns in these cases are really objective. The *g* never appears after the personal pronouns prefixed to the noun.

§ 20. *The Third Person Dual*

The third person dual has two forms, *c-* and *ct-*. *ct-* is used—

(1) As intransitive subject preceding a vowel, except *ɛ* and its representatives.

Examples of the use of *ct-*:

a-ct-ō'-y-am they two arrive (*a-* transitional; *ct-* third person dual; *-ō-* directive; *-i* stem TO GO; *-am* to complete motion)

ct-ā'qoaiL they two are large

Examples of the use of *c-*:

c-xēlā'itx̣ they two remained

a-cɛ'x-a-x they two became (*a-* transitional; *-c* dual; *-x-* reflexive; *-a-* directive before *-x; x* to be)

(2) As object of the transitive, when the accent is on the pronominal subject.

Examples of the use of *ct-*:

a-tcɛ'-ct-u-k^{u}L he carried their two selves 26.20 (*a-* transitional; *tc-* he [transitive]; *-ɛ* carries accent; *ct-* them [dual]; *-u-* directive; *-k^{u}L* stem TO CARRY)

a-LgE'-ct-a-x it did them two (*a-* transitional; *LgE-* neuter subject; *-ct-* they two)

Examples of the use of *c-*:

a-k-c-ō'lx̣-am she said to these two (*a-* transitional; *k-* she; *c-* they two; *-ōlx̣* to say; *-am* completive)

(3) In all possessive forms.

LE'-ct-a-qcō their two selves' hair 77.3 (*L-* neuter pronoun; *-ɛ* carries accent; *ct-* their [dual]; *-a-* vowel following possessive [§ 23]; *-qcō* stem HAIR)

§ 21. *The Third Person Plural*

It has been mentioned before that the third person plural before single *k* sounds, and before adverbial *l* and *n* (§ 25), is *ō-* instead of *t-*. This change occurs both when the pronoun is intransitive subject and when it is first or second object. The transitive subject is always *tg-*, *tk-* (see § 19).

Plural *t-*:

a-t-ē'-x-a-x they came to be on him (*a-* transitional; *t-* they; *ē-* him; *-x* indicates that THEY belonged to HIM; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO, TO BE)

a-tc-ɛ'-t-a-x he did them (*a-* transitional; *tc-* he; *ɛ-* carries accent; *-t* them; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO)

Plural *ō-*:

n-ō'-x-o-x they became (*n-* transitional before vowel; *-ō* they before *k* sound; *-x* reflexive; *-o-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO, TO BE)

a-c-g-ō'-xuina they placed them in the ground (*a-* transitional; *c-* they two; *-g-* marks preceding *c-* as transitive subject; *-ō-* them [before *k* sound]; *-xēna* stem TO STAND [plural])

a-q-t-ā'-w-i-tx somebody gave them to them (*a-* transitional; *q-* indefinite; *t-* them; *-ā'-* inserted in accented syllable before semivowel *w* [§ 5.2*b*]; *-w-* stands for *-ō-* [between two vowels], them; *-i-* stands for *-l-* after preceding *o* [see § 9]; *-tx* stem TO GIVE AWAY)

Before *k* stops, a *-g* is inserted after the subject third person plural, as described in § 19.2*b*.

In a few nouns the third person plural is *n* instead of *t;* for instance:

natē'tanuē Indians
nauā'itk net

Numerals take *a-* instead of *t-* for indicating the plural of human beings (see § 51).

§ 22. *Pronouns of the Transitive Verb*

The first person and the exclusive subject do not occur with a second person object. In place of these combinations we have the forms *yam-, yamt-, yamc-,* for the combinations I— THEE, I— YOUR TWO SELVES, I— YOU; and *qam-, qamt-, qamc-,* for the corresponding forms with dual and plural exclusive subject. The inclusive subject can not occur with second person objects, since this would be a reflexive form (see § 24). In transitive verbs with two objects the same irregularities occur when either the first or second object is second person while the first person is subject. In case the second object is second person, the forms begin with the first object.

t-am-l-ō't-a I shall give them to thee (*t-* them; *-am* I — thee; *-l-* to; *-ōt* to give; *-a* future)

The indefinite subject *q-* is peculiar to the transitive.

§ 23. *Possessive Pronoun*

All possessive pronouns are followed by *-a-*, except the first and second persons. The first person is always followed by *E*, which, after the *-tc-* of the masculine, takes an *î* tinge, while after the *o-* of the feminine it becomes *u* (§ 7.1). The second person is followed by

ē. When the accent falls on the possessive pronoun, the *a* is lengthened. If the accent precedes the possessive pronoun, the *a* remains short. In this case the consonantic pronouns introduce an *ɛ* before the possessive (§ 5.1). When followed by *m* and *y*, this *ɛ* is lengthened to *ā* in accordance with the phonetic rules given in § 5.2*b*. The *g* of the first person and of the third person feminine, when following the accent, becomes *kx̣* in accordance with the general tendency to make a *k* following an accent affricative (§ 6.1).

The possessive pronoun exhibits a peculiar modification in the first person and in the third person singular feminine. Masculine nouns have in both cases *-tc-*, while all the other genders have *-g-*.

For the insertion of *-g-* in the third person plural possessive of neuter and plural nouns, see § 19.3.

Examples of possessive forms with accent on possessive pronoun:

i-tcɛ'-ts!ɛmɛnō my wooden spoon 115.18
ō-gu'-x̣amukc my dog 16.11
ʟ-gɛ'-qacqac my grandfather 211.1
s-gɛ'-x̣anim my (dual) toy canoe 115.21
t-gɛ'-x̣awôk my guardian spirits 211.4
i-mē'-xal thy name 72.26
ō-mē'-putc thy anus 114.1
ʟ-mē'-tata-iks thy uncles 10.12
c-mē'-ktcx̣ict thy nostrils 113.20
tɛ-mē!-xēqʟax thy hunter's protectors 234.10
i-ā'-ok his blanket 74.14
u-yā'-tcinkikala his head wife 74.16
ʟ-iā'-nɛmckc his wives 74.16
c-iā'-kulq!ast his squinting (on both eyes) 139.5
t-iā'-x̣alaitanɛ-ma his arrows 10.16
i-tcā'-yuʟ!ʟ her pride 74.11
u-gō'-cgan her bucket 115.11
ʟ-gā'-cganɛ-ma her buckets 115.12
c-gā'-x̣a her two children 14.4
t-gā'-po'tē her arms 115.24
i-ʟā'-qula their camp 73.15
u-ʟā'-xk!un their eldest sister 73.15
ʟā'wux̣ their younger brother 74.15
c-ʟā'-amtkct its double spit 93.10
ʟā'-uʟēma their houses 227.23
t-ʟā'-x̣ilkuē their bushes in canoe 47.10
i-ntā'-x̣anīm our two selves' (excl.) canoe 163.4
ʟɛ-ntā'-mama our two selves' (excl.) father
i-txā'-kikala our two selves' (incl.) husband 76.12

ō-txā'-ʟak our two selves' (incl.) aunt 116.11
ʟ-txā'-xk'un-ikc our two selves' (incl.) elder brothers 11.19
c-txā'-ẋamuks our two selves' (incl.) dogs 16.9
txā'-cōlal our two selves' (incl.) relatives 224.12
i-mtā'-k!ē-tēnax what you two have killed 163.6
ō-mtā'-ẋamukc your two selves' bitch 16.12
ʟE-mtā'-naa your two selves' mother 13.24
i-ctā'-mōlak their two selves' elk 115.25
ō-stā'-ẋamuks their two selves' dog 16.10
ʟ-ctā'-amtkct its double spit 96.22
ctā'-xôs their two selves' eyes 129.28
t-ctā'-ẋti their two selves' smoke 75.22
i-ntcā'-lẋam our (excl.) town 234.11
ō-ntcā'-hat!au our (excl.) virgin 150.21
ʟ-ntcā'-xgacgac our (excl.) grandfather 22.20
i-lxā'-ẋak!ʀmana our (incl.) chief 224.25
o-lxā'-qxalptckix our (incl.) fire 73.21
cî-lxā'-ẋak!ʀmāna our (incl.) two chiefs 37.10
i-mcā'-ẋak!ʀmāna your chief 50.3
ō-mcā'-pōtcxan your sister-in-law 224.26
ʟE-mcā'-cguic your mat 173.23
tE-mcā'-nʀmckc your husbands 138.6
i-tā'-ʟan their rope 227.15
u-tā'-ẋanīm their canoe 163.16
Ɬgā'-xauyamtikc their poverty 13.18
tgā'-wun-aks their bellies 14.21

Examples of possessive forms with accent preceding the possessive pronoun:

ē'-tca-mxtc my heart 12.26
ʟE'-kẋE-ps my foot 41.20
sE'-k-xēst my arrogance
tE'-kẋu-qʟ my house 24.4
ē'-mi-ʟa thy body
sā'-mē-xēst thy arrogance
tā'-mē-ps thy foot
ā'ya-qcō his skin 115.24
ʟ-ā'ya-qtq his head 73.13
c-ā'ya-qtq his two heads 14.11
t-ā'ya-qʟ his house 15.12
ē'-tca-qtq its head 223.8
sE'-kẋa-xēst her arrogance
tE'-kẋa-qʟ her house 89.7
ē'-ʟa-tc!a its sickness 196.6
ō'-ʟa-qst its louse 10.21
ʟE'-ʟa-ps its foot 191.20

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tɛ'-ʟa-ps its feet 137.16
ē'-nta-m our two selves' (excl.) father 29.16
tɛ'-nta-q!pas our two selves' (excl.) targets 30.12
ē'-txa-m our two selves' (incl.) father 29.11
tɛ'-txa-ps our two selves' (incl.) feet
tɛ'-mta-ps your two selves' feet
ē'-cta-tc!a their two selves' sickness 193.18
ʟɛ'-cta-qcō their two selves' hair 77.3
tɛ'-cta-qʟ their two selves' house 193.4
tɛ'-ntca-qʟ our (excl.) house 129.26
tɛ'-lxa-qʟ our (incl.) house 225.25

§ 24. *Elements Expressing the Possessive Relation Between Subject and Object*

When there is a possessive relation between the subject and one of the objects, the element *-x-* is inserted.

(1) After the first object of the transitive verb, it indicates that the object belongs to the subject.

a-g-a-x-ō'-pc-am she hid her own 216.5 (*a-* transitional; *g-* she; *a-* her; *-x-* indicates that the object is possessed by the subject; *-ō-* directive; *-pc* stem TO HIDE; *-am* completion)

(2) After the second object of the transitive, it indicates that the first object belongs to the second.

a-m-ʟ-ā'-x-cg-am you take it (hers) from her 185.16 (*a-* transitional; *m-* thou; *ʟ-* it; *a-* her; *-x-* indicates that IT belongs to HER; *-cg* stem TO TAKE; *-am* completion)

(3) After the intransitive subject, it has the force of a reflexive transitive verb; i. e., it indicates sameness of subject and object.

n-ē'-x-a-x he does himself; i. e., he becomes (*n-* transitional before vocalic pronoun [§ 17.1]; *ē-* he; *-x-* reflexive; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO)

a-m-x-ā'-n-ɛl-gu'ʟ-îtck you expressed yourself to me; i. e., you told me 97.10 (*a-* transitional; *m-* thou; *-x-* reflexive; connective *ɛ* with secondary accent becomes *ā-* before *n* [§ 5. 2*b*]; *n-* me; *-l-* to; *-guʟ* stem TO TALK; *-tck* inchoative)

(4) After the object of a verb with intransitive subject, it has the force of a transitive reflexive in which subject and second subject are identical.

n-ē'-ʟ-x-a-x he does it in reference to himself; i. e., he becomes from it 244.16 (same analysis as above under 3, with the object *ʟ-* IT inserted)

§ 25. *Adverbial Prefixes*

A number of adverbial ideas—particularly those defining the relation of the verb to the object, and corresponding to some of our prepositions—are expressed by prefixes which follow the pronouns. The adverbial character of these elements appears in forms like—

a-q-ē'-l-gi-tk somebody placed him near by (*a-* transitional; *q-* some one; *ē-* him; *-l-* to; *-gi-* eliminates one object [§ 26.4]; *-tk* stem TO PLACE)

The verbal idea is to place near, and the form is purely transitive. The same construction appears clearly in—

a-ʟ-g-i-gᴇ'l-tcxᴇm it sings for him 260.17 (*a-* transitional; *ʟ-* it; *-g-* post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; *i-* him; *-gᴇl-* on account of; *-tcxᴇm* TO SING SHAMAN'S SONG)

These examples show that the prefixes do not belong to the objects, but that they qualify the verb. Following is a list of these prefixes:

1. ***-l-*** TO, FOR.

ʟ-ā'-l-ō-c it was to (in) her 71.6 (*ʟ-* it; *a-* her; *-l-* to; *-ō-* directive; *-c* stem TO BE)

a-c-k-ʟ-ē'-l-ō-kʟ they two carried it to him 29.9 (*a-* transitional; *c-* they two; *-k-* post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; *ʟ-* it; *ē-* him; *-l-* to; *-ō-* directive; *-kʟ* stem TO CARRY)

The third person plural of the pronoun, when preceding this *-l-*, has the form *ō* (§ 21). In this case the *-l-* changes to *-ē-* (§ 9.1), and the *ō* is then weakened to *w*.

a-q-t-a-w-ē'-m-aku-x they distributed them to (among) them 246.10 (*a-* transitional; *q-* somebody; *t-* them; *(-a-)* probably connective; *-w-* for *ō-* them; *-ē-* for *-l-* after *o;* *-m* stem TO HAND [?]; *-ako* about; *-x* usitative)

2. ***-n-*** IN, INTO.

a-tc-a-ʟᴇ-n-gā'n-ait he threw her into it 173.6 (*a-* transitional; *tc-* he; *a-* her; *ʟ-* it; *-n-* into; *-gᴇn* stem TO PLACE changed to *gān* on account of accent [§ 5. 2*b*]; *-ait* to be in position)

s-ā'-n-pō-t she closed her eyes 47.18 (*s-* they two; *ā-* her; *-n-* in; *-pō* stem TO CLOSE; *-t* perfect)

3. ***-k-*** ON.

a-ʟ-g-ō'-tx̣ she stands on it 191.20 (*a-* she; *ʟ-* it; *-g-* on; *-ō-* directive; *-tx̣* stem TO STAND)

a-ʟᴇ'-n-ka-t-ka it comes flying above me (*a-* transitional; *ʟ(ᴇ)-* it; *n-* me; *-k(a)-* on; *-t-* coming; *-ka* stem TO FLY)

m-a-n-k-ō'-tx̣-umit-a you will make her stand on me 24.13 (*m-* thou; *a-* her; *n-* me; *-k-* on; *-ō-* directive; *-tx̣* stem TO STAND; *-(u)mit* to cause [§ 29]; *-a* future)

4. ***-gEl-*** ON ACCOUNT OF.

a-ʟ-g-i-gɛ'l-tcxɛm-x it sings on account of him 260.17 (*a-* transitional; *ʟ-* it; *-g-* post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; *i-* him; *-gɛl-* on account of; *-tcxɛm* stem TO SING SHAMAN'S SONG; *-x* usitative [§ 32.11])

mc-g-a-n-gɛl-ō'-tg-a ye shall keep her for me (*mc-* ye; *-g-* [§ 19.1]; *a-* her; *n-* me; *-gɛl-* on account of; *-ō-* directive; *-tg* stem TO PUT; *-a* future)

4*a*. ***-xEl-*** reflexive form of *-gɛl-* ON ACCOUNT OF. In many cases the translation FOR, ON ACCOUNT OF, does not fit in this case, although the etymological relation is clear.

n-ā'-ʟ-xɛl-a-x she makes it for herself 267.2 (*n-* transitional before vowel; *a-* she; *ʟ-* it; *-xɛl-* on account of; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO, TO MAKE)

a-ʟ-a-xɛ'l-tciam it combed her for itself; i. e., she combed herself 13.2 (*a-* transitional; *ʟ-* it; *a-* her; *-xɛl-* on account of; *-tciam* stem COMBING)

5. ***-gEm-*** WITH, NEAR.

a-q-ʟ-gɛm-ō'-tx̣-uit somebody stands near it 238.4 (*a-* transitional; *q-* some one, transitive subject; *ʟ-* it; *-gɛm-* near; *-ō-* directive; *-tx̣* stem TO STAND; *-(u)it* to be in a state [§ 29])

a-ʟ-x-ʟ-gɛ'm-ᵉapko-x it steamed itself near it (*a-* transitional; *ʟ-* it; *-x-* reflexive; *ʟ-* it; *-gɛm-* near; *-ᵉapko* stem TO STEAM; *-x* usitative)

5*a*. ***-xEm-*** reflexive form of *-gɛm-* WITH, NEAR.

n-i-n-xɛm-tcē'na he lays me near himself; *i. e.*, I lay him near me (*n-* transitional before vowel; *i-* he; *n-* me; *-xɛm-* near; *-tcē'na* stem TO LAY)

c-xɛm-l-ā'it they two stood near each other 228.25 (*c-* they two; *-xɛm-* near; *-l-* stem TO MOVE [?]; *-a-it* to be in a position)

6. ***-x̣-*** ON THE GROUND.

ē'-x̣-ō-c he is on the ground 39.18 (*ē-* he; *-x̣-* on ground; *-ō-* directive; *-c* stem TO BE)

7. ***-ᵉEl-***. No translation can be given for this element, which appears in a position analogous to the other adverbs in a few verbal stems.

-ᵉɛl-kɛl to see
-ᵉɛl-gē'l-ako to uncover
-ᵉɛl-tatkc to leave

§ 26. *Directional Prefixes*

I use this term for a group of prefixes which are difficult to classify. One of them designates undoubtedly the direction toward the speaker, another one negates the direction toward an object, and a third one seems to imply direction from the actor. For this reason I have applied the term "directional prefixes," although its propriety is not quite certain.

1. **-ō-**, a very frequent verbal prefix which seems to indicate motion away from the actor, although this significance does not readily apply in all cases. This prefix occurs with most verbs and immediately precedes the stem.

a-tc-i-ō'-cg-am he takes him 135.9 (*-ō-* directive; *-cg* stem TO TAKE; *-am* completive)
i-ō'-c he is (*-ō-* directive; *-c* stem TO BE)

When the stem begins with a velar, a glottal stop, or a *w*, the *-ō-* changes to *-a-*, but, when not accented, it remains *-o-* before stems beginning with *w*.

a-tc-i-ā'-wa^{ɛ} he killed him 23.20 (*-a-* directive; *-wa^{ɛ}* stem TO KILL)
tcE-n-u-wu'l^{ɛ}-aya he will eat me 212.15
a-tcE'-t-a-x he did them 9.5 (*-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO)
a-tc-ā'y-a-qc he bit him 9.9 (*-a-* directive; *-qc* stem TO BITE)
a-q-i-a-^{ɛ}ō'nim some one laughs at him 184.3 (*-a-* directive; *-^{ɛ}ōnim* stem TO LAUGH)

This change is evidently secondary, and an older form—in which *ō* was used in all cases, as we find it now in Upper Chinook—must have existed. This is proved by the persistence of *o* in place of all *a* vowels that occur after this stem, even when the directive *o* is changed into *a*.

tc-i-n-l-ā'-x-ō he will make him for me 69.25 (terminal *-ō* for future *-a*, as would be required by the laws of vocalic harmony if the directive *-a-* before the stem *-x* had remained *-ō-*)
a-tc-t-ā'-x-ōm he reached them 191.12 (terminal *-ōm* for *-am*)

This explanation does not account for a form like *naiga't!ōm* SHE REACHES HIM, in which the change from *am* to *-ōm* follows the fortis which stands for *tq*. (See § 29.4.)

The directional *-ō-* is never used with imperatives. As stated in § 22, the imperative of the transitive verb has also no subject.

Intransitive imperatives:

mE'-tx-uit stand up! 211.21 (*m-* thou; *-tx* to stand; *-uit* suffix [§ 29.1])

mE'-x-a-x do! 15.25 (*m-* thou; *-x-* reflexive; *-a-* directive; *-x* to do)

mE'-Lx-a go to the beach 175.16 (*m-* thou; *-Lx* to the beach; *-a* future)

Transitive imperatives:

ē'-cg-am take him! 43.8 (*ē-* him; *-cg-* to take; *-am* completion)

ā'-latck lift her! 15.7 (*a-* her; *-latck* to lift)

ā'-t-kL-a carry her here! 15.24 (*a-* her; *-t-* here [§ 26.2]; *-kL* to carry; *-a* future)

sE'-pEna jump! 16.3 (*sE-* THEM TWO, namely, the legs; *-pEna* to jump)

2. ***-t-*** designates direction toward the speaker.

a-k-L-E'-t-kL-am she brought it 124.24 (*-t-* toward speaker; *-kL* stem TO BRING; *-am* completion)

a-LE'-t-ga it comes flying 139.1 (*-t-* toward speaker; *-ga* to fly)

a-LE'-n-ka-t-ga it comes flying over me (*-k-* on)

3. ***-t-*** potentiality, *i. e.*, the power to perform an act moving away from the actor, without actual motion away. This prefix is identical with the preceding, but, according to its sense, it never occurs with the transitional.

tc-LE-t-x he can do it 61.8 (*-t-* potential; *-x* stem TO DO)

q-tE'-t-piaLx-ax somebody can gather them 94.15 (*-t-* potential; *-piaLx* stem TO GATHER; *-x* usitative)

4. ***-ki-*** negates direction toward an object, and thus eliminates one of the two objects of transitive verbs with two objects, and transforms transitive verbs into intransitives.

a-q-i-L-gEm-ō'-kte-x somebody pays him to it 261.23 (*-gEm-* with, near; *-ō-* directive; *-kte* thing; *-x* usitative)

a-tc-a-gEm-ki'-ktē he paid her 161.9 (*-gEm-* with; *-ki-* eliminates first object; *-kte* thing)

a-L-k-L-ō-kct it looked at it 256.8 (*-ō-* directive; *-kct* stem TO LOOK)

a-LE'-ki-kct it looked 218.9 (*-ki-* eliminates object; *-kct* stem TO LOOK)

The interpretation of these forms is not quite satisfactory. The element *-t* occurs also as the stem TO COME, and the forms *ā'nō*, *ā'Lō* I, IT WENT, suggest that *-ō* may be a stem of motion. If this is the case, the first and third prefixes of this class might rather form compound stems with a great variety of other stems. The potential *-t-*

and the intransitive *-ki-*, on the other hand, do not seem to occur as stems that can be used with pronominal elements alone.

Attention may be called here to the analogy between the prefixes *-gɛl-* and *-gɛm* and their reflexives *-xɛl-* and *-xɛm-* (§ 25) and the two forms *-ki-* and *-x-*. However, since *-ki-* never occurs with following directive *-ō-* or *-a-*, while *-x-* appears frequently combined with it, this analogy may be due to a mere coincidence.

It would seem that the directive *-ō-* is always retained after *l-*, and sometimes after *-gɛl-*, *-gɛm-*, *-xɛl-*, *-xɛm-*, but that it never occurs with other adverbial elements.

§ 27. *Verbal Stems*

The verbal stems are either simple or compound. It was stated in the preceding section that what we called the prefixes *-t-* and *-ō-* may be stems expressing TO COME and TO GO. There are a number of verbal stems which appear with great frequency in composition, and almost always as second elements of verbal compounds. All of these express local ideas. They are:

(1) *-pa* motion out of.
(2) *-p!* motion into.
(3) *-wulx̣t* motion up.
(4) *-tcu* motion down.
(5) *-ʟx* motion from cover to open.
(6) *-ptck* motion from open to cover.

We find, for instance—

n-ē'-t-p! he comes in 211.18 (*-t* toward speaker; *-p!* motion into)
a-ʟ-ō'-pa he goes out 46.8 (*-ō-* directive; *-pa* motion out of)
a-k-ʟ-ō'-kct-ptck she carries it up from the beach 163.11 (*-kct-* to carry; *-ptck* motion from open to cover, especially up from beach)
a-n-ō'-tct-wulx̣t I travel up in canoe (*-tct* motion on water; *-wulx̣t* motion upward)

There are a few cases in which these verbs appear in first position in the compound verb.

n-ē'-ʟx-ʟait he goes to the beach and stays there (*-ʟx* motion from cover to open, especially from land to sea; *-ʟait* to stay)

Compounds of nouns and verbs are much rarer.

a-tc-a-i-nɛ-mō'k!-ᵉoya-kō he makes her (the breath) in his throat be between; *i. e.*, he chokes him (*-n-* in; *-mōk-* throat; *-ᵉoya* to be between; *-akō* around)

Here belong also the compounds with *t!ō* WELL

ē-t!ō'-cg-am hold him well! 44.15 (*-t!ō-* well; *-cg* to take, hold; *-am* completion)

The idea AROUND (*-akō*) does not seem to occur independently, and is therefore treated in the next section.

Suffixes (§§ *28-33*)

§ 28. GENERAL REMARKS

According to their significance and position, the verbal suffixes may be classified in five groups:

First, generic suffixes:

1. *-a-it* to be in a position.
2. *-amit* to cause.
3. *-x·it* to be made to.
4. *-am* to complete a motion, to go to.

Second, local suffixes:

5. *-ako* around.

Third, semi-temporal suffixes:

6. *-tck* to begin.
7. *-l* repetition, so far as characteristic of an action.
8. *-ʟ* continued repetition.
9. *-ɛm* repetition at distinct times.
10. *-a-itx* habitually.

Fourth, temporal and semi-temporal suffixes, always following the preceding group:

11. *-x* customary.
12. *-t* perfect.
13. *-a* future.

Fifth, terminal suffixes:

14. *-ē* successful completion.

On the whole, the suffixes appear in the order here given, although sometimes a different order seems to be found. In the following list the combinations of suffixes so far as found are given.

§ 29. GENERIC SUFFIXES

1. ***-a-it*** TO BE IN A POSITION. Followed by *-amit* (2), *-x·it* (3), *-tck* (6), and all the suffixes of the fourth group.

a-y-ō'-ʟ-a-it he sits, he is 212.16 (*-ō* directive; *-ʟ* stem TO SIT)
a-k-ʟ-a-qā'n-a-it she laid it 44.9 (*-a* directive before *q;* stem *-qɛn* [accented before vowel becomes *-qā'n*] LONG THING LIES)

After *k* sounds with *u* tinge, this ending is *-uit;* after a terminal *o*, it seems to be *-it.*

from stem *-tx̣^{u}* to stand	*mE'-tx̣-uit* stand!
from stem *-ck^{u}* hot	*a-L-ō'-ck-uit* it is hot 174.13
from stem *-x* to do	*lx-a-x-ō'it-a* we shall do 136.14

2. ***-amit*** TO CAUSE. Preceded by *-a-it* (1); followed by *-ako* (5), *-l* (7), *-Em* (9), and all the suffixes of the fourth group.

a-L-g-ō-L-ā'it-amit it causes her to sit 249.3 (combined with *-a-it*)
a-tc-ō'-ktcikt-amit he roasted her 94.4

After a terminal *o*, the two vowels *o* and *a* are contracted to *ō*.

a-tc-i-u-ngō'-mit he causes him to run (= he carries him away)

3. ***-x·it,*** with intransitive verbs, TO BE CAUSED; with transitive verbs, this suffix forms a passive. Preceded by *-a-it* (1), *-tck* (6); followed by all the suffixes of the fourth group.

a-L-u-wā'-x·it it is caused to be pursued
a-n-o-qun-ā'it-x·it I was caused to lie down 45.5
a-y-ō-lā'-tcku-x·it he was made to begin to rise 137.5

4. ***-am*** TO COMPLETE A MOTION, TO GO TO. Followed by all the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

a-tc-i-'t-kL-am he came to take him 26.6
n-i-xa-t-ngō'-p!-am he arrives inside running

When the directive *-o-* is changed to an *-a-* before *k* sound, and when, in accordance with the law of harmony, the *a* in *am* would have to be changed into *-ō-*, this change is made, even though the *a* before the *k* sound is substituted for the *-ō-*.

a-tc-t-a'-x-ōm he did them reaching (he reached them)
a-q-L-g-a'-^{e}-ōm some one met it 117.24

This *-ō-* is retained even where the *-t-* is substituted for *-o-*.

n-a-i-ga'-t!-ōm she reached him (for *naiga'tqam*)

After *l, n, a, ē, ī, ō, ū* this ending takes the form *-mam.*

Lgā'lEmam go and take it 25.26
ēx̣tkinEmam go and search for him 25.14
nxōguilē'mama I shall go to shoot birds
aLgōguixē'mam they invited them 98.19
aqaxiktcgō'mam one gives her in marriage 250.19

The form *ayō'yam* HE ARRIVES, from *ā'yō* HE GOES, forms an apparent exception to this rule. Presumably the verb TO GO contains a stem *-y-* which is suppressed in some forms.

§ 30. LOCAL SUFFIXES

5. ***-ako*** AROUND. Preceded by *-amit* (2); followed by *-x* (11), *-it* (1). With *-ʟ* it amalgamates by metathesis (see § 31.8).

m-i-t-ɛl-m-ā'kō you distribute him among them 154.4
n-ē'-x-ʟ-akō he goes around him 88.24
n-ē-x-k!ē'ni-akō he wraps it around himself 138.9

The significance of this suffix is often only inadequately rendered by the word AROUND.

a-n-ē'-x-k-akō I get the better of him
a-q-i-ᵉɛl-gē'l-akō cover is taken off 329.6
n-i-ẋē'qaw-akō he dreams 22.11

Preceded by *-amit:*

a-q-i-xʟ-ā'mit-akō some one was made to be around him

Followed by *-it:*

a-ʟ-awē-ā'y-aku-it he inclosed them

§ 31. SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

6. ***-tck*** TO BEGIN. Preceded by *-a-it* (1), *-ako* (5); followed by *-am* (4) and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

n-ā'-wi-tck she dances (*ā'-wi-l* she dances always)
n-kʟē'wa-tck I begin to paddle (*n-kʟē'wa-l* I am paddling)

7. ***-l*** repetition, as characteristic of an action. Followed by *-mam* (4), *-ɛm* (9), *-a-itx* (10), and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

a-g-i-ō'-l-ɛl she shook him 72.24
n-ē'-k-ʟxē-l he crawled about 95.14
a-tg-i-o-mɛl-ā'l-ɛmam-x they went to buy him 260.15 (*-āl* on account of accent preceding *l*)

These forms are used very often with verbal nouns:

ē-ctxu-l what is carried on back
ē'-tcẋɛm-al what is boiled 185.7
k-tgɛ'-ka-l those who fly 60.5

After *n* as terminal sound of the stem, the *l* of this suffix becomes *n* (see § 8).

8. ***-ʟ*** continued repetition. This suffix exhibits a number of curious traits in the manner in which it enters into combination with words. It is only rarely suffixed without causing changes in the preceding elements of the word. Often after *t, m, x, u,* it appears in the form *-niʟ*.

k-c-il-a'-ᵉ-ōm-niʟ always arriving
a-cg-i-ā'-qc-im-niʟ they two took him here and there

ɬk-c-il-pē'ẋu-niɬ she blows it up 238.16
ɬg-ē'-ctxo-niɬ he will carry him on his back 110.9
k-ɬk-t-ō-ɬā't-niɬ one who always shoots (disease) 200.16
a-tc-ɬ-ɛl-ᵋēm-niɬ he always gives food to him 22.12

In certain cases, perhaps by assimilation or metathesis, an *-l-* appears inserted in the syllable preceding the suffix *-ɬ*.

a-tc-ɬ-ō'-tipa he dips it up
a-g-i-ō'-lapa she digs it out
a-yā'm-xg-akō I am before you
a-ɬk-t-ā'-wulᵋ it eats them 45.27
n-ɬ-ō-tē'lipɬ I dip it up often
a-k-ɬ-ō-lā'lɛpɬ she digs it often
a-yam-xg-ā'lukɬ I am always before you
i-k!ē'-wulɛlqɬ food

Following an *m* or *n* the inserted sound is generally *n*.

a-ɬk-c-i-k-ɬkā'n-akō it steps across
a-ɬk-c-i-k-ɬkā'nanukɬx she steps across 264.14

9. ***-Em*** distribution at distinct times, probably related to *-ma* (see § 38.2). Preceded by *-amit* (2), *-l* (8); followed usually by *-x* (11).

a-tc-ɬ-kẋōtɛ'qo-im-x he always stood on them severally 98.6
a-ɬg-i-o-pcō'tet-ɛm-x he hides it everywhere 199.18
a-ɬ-x-ā'-x-um-x they always did here and there 228.8

10. ***-a-itx*** HABITUALLY. Always terminal; often preceded by *-ɛm* (9), and *-ɬ* (8).

a-ɬ-xᵋō'tōɬ-a-itx she always bathes 256.14 (probably with *-ɬ* [8])
a-y-ō'-tẋ-uit-a-itx he always stood 109.2
a-ɬk-ɬ-ō-lā'lɛpɬ-a-itx they are in the habit of digging continually 74.18

§ 32. TEMPORAL AND SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

11. ***-x*** CUSTOMARY. Preceded by all prefixes except *-ē* (14).
a-ɬk-t-ō'-kᵘɬ-x it is customary that they carry them 267.16
a-ɬ-x-ᵋō't-am-x it is customary that she goes bathing 245.11

12. ***-t*** PERFECT. Preceded by all suffixes; followed by *-ē*.
tg-i-ā'-wa-t they have followed him 139.2
tc-i-gɛ'n-ẋaō-t-ē he has taken care of him 133.20

13. ***-a*** FUTURE. Preceded by all suffixes. This suffix draws the accent toward the end of the word.

n-i-o-cg-ā'm-a I shall take him
q-o-piā'ɬx-a some one will catch her 15.19

In those cases in which the suffix *-am* takes the form *-ōm* (see p. 605), namely, after *k* sounds, which would normally require *o*

in harmony with the directive *-o-* that has changed to *-a-*, the future is *-o*.

tc-i-n-l-ā'-x-ō he will make him for me 70.6

After stems ending in a vowel the future is generally *-ya*.

m-xa-t-gō'-ya you will come back 212.2

yam-xōnenemā'-ya I shall show you 234.11

In Kathlamet the future has also a prefix, *a-* or *al-* (see § 17.3).

§ 33. TERMINAL SUFFIX

14. **-ē** SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION. This suffix is always terminal. Its significance is not quite certain.

n-i-gō'-ptcg-am-ē finally he came up to the woods 166.8

It occurs very often with the meaning ACROSS.

a-tc-ā'-k-xonē he carried her across on his shoulder 27.8

mc-i-gō'tct-am-a-ē you will get across 51.6

The Noun (§§ *34-43*)

§ 34. GENDER

The pronominal parts of the noun have been discussed in § 18. It is necessary to discuss here the gender of nouns.

Nouns may be masculine, feminine, neuter, dual, or plural. It would seem that originally these forms were used with terms having natural gender, with sexless objects, and objects naturally dual and plural. At present the use of these elements has come to be exceedingly irregular, and it is almost impossible to lay down definite rules regarding their use.

In the following a summary of the use of gender and number will be given.

(1) Masculine and feminine respectively are terms designating men and women.

In all these terms the idea of indefiniteness of the individual, corresponding to the indefinite article in English, may be expressed by the neuter; like *ikā'nax* THE CHIEF, *ʟkā'nax* A CHIEF.

Masculine	Feminine
ī'kala man	*ō^{ɛ}ō'kuil* woman
ik!āsks boy	*ōk!ōsks* girl
iq!oa'lipx youth	*ōxō't!au* virgin
ē'pʟ^{ɛ}au widower	*ō'pʟ^{ɛ}au* widow
iq!ēyō'qxut old man	*ōq!oeyō'qxut* old woman
ēla'ētix· male slave	*ōla'ētix·* female slave

(2) Large animals are masculine, as:

badger *-pɛnpɛn* (*-p!ē'cxac*, Kathlamet) L; feminine SKUNK
bear, black *-i'tsxut* (*-sqē'ntxoa*, Kathlamet)
bear, cinnamon *-t!ɛk*
bear, grizzly *-cā'yim*
beaver *-ᵋēna*, *-qoa-inē'nē* (*-qā'nuk*, Kathlamet)
bird (sp. ?) *-tcu'yam*
bird (sp. ?) *-pō'ēpoē*
bird *-qsō'tlotlōt*
bullfrog *-q!oatɛ'xēxē*
deer *-mā'cɛn* (*-lā'lax*, Kathlamet)
coyote *-t!ā'lapas*
rat *-qā'lapas* (Kathlamet)
buffalo *-tō'iha*
crane *-qoā'sqoas*
crow (mythical name) *-ʟaq!ō'*
duck (sp.?) *-wē'guic*
eagle, bald-headed *-ninē'x·ō*
elk *-mō'lak*
a small fish *-qalɛ'xlɛx*
fish-hawk *-'ltcap*
grass-frog *-q!ɛnō'nēqēn*
gull *-qonē'qonē*
hawk *-t!ē't!ē*
heron *-q!oa'sk!oai*, *-'qulqul*
horse *-kē'utan*
humming-bird *-'tsɛntsɛn*
blue jay *-qē'cqēc*
kingfisher *-pō'tsɛlal*
lizard (?) *-kinē'pɛt*
mallard-duck(male)*-cimē'wat*
mink *-'galɛlix*, *-pō'sta* (*-kō'sait*, Kathlamet)
mountain-goat *-ci'xq*
mussel, small *-tguē'* (*matk*)
mussel, large *-niā'* (*matk*)
otter *-nanā'muks*
owl *-qoē'lqoēl*
oyster *-ʟō'xlox*
panther *-k!oa'yawc*
pike *-'qoqo*
porcupine *-cɛlqɛlq*
rabbit *-skē'epxoa* (*-kanaxmɛ'nēm*, Kathlamet)
raccoon *-q!oala's* (*-ʟatā't*, Kathlamet)
raven *-koalē'xoa*
salmon, fall *-qɛlɛma*
salmon, spring *-gu'nat*
salmon, steel-head *-goanē'x·*
sea-lion *-gē'pix·ʟ*
sea-otter *-lā'kē*
shag *-'paowē*
shark *-k!ā'yicx*
skate *-aiā'iu*
snake *-tciau*
sperm whale *-'mokᵘtxi*
squirrel *-k!ā'utɛn*
sturgeon *-nā'qōn*
sturgeon, green *-kaʟē'nax*
swan *-qelō'q*
turtle *-'ʟaxoa*
whale *-'kolē*
lynx *-puk*
wolf *-lē'q!am*
woodpecker *-qstō'konkon*

(3) Small animals are feminine, as:

beetle *-'bic*
bird (sp. ?) *-pē'qciuc*
bird (sp. ?) *-tc!ē'nakoaēkoaē*
sea-bird (sp. ?) *-ʟqekc*
sea-bird (sp. ?) *-cxulē'x*
chicken-hawk *-'npitc*
chipmunk *-'tsikin* (*-gusgu's*, Kathlamet)
mud clam *-'iᵋē*
fresh-water clam *-'sala*
cormorant *-'waniō*
crane *-q!ucpalē'*

crow *-'k!unō* (*-t!ā'ntsa*, Kathlamet)
killer-whale *-gaʟā'mat*
dogfish (see shark) *-q!oā'icx̣*
eagle *-tc!aktc!ā'k*
fawn of deer *-q!ē'xcap*
fish (sp. ?) *-nā'wan*
fish (sp. ?) *-k!otaqē'*
fish (sp. ?) *-'ʟɛlō*
flounder *-'pkicx̣*
frog *-cuē'eē*
halibut *-ɪtc!alō'c* (said to be borrowed from Quinault)
louse *-'qct*
maggot *-'moa*
mallard-duck (female) *-goē'xgoēx*
mole *-cē'ntan*
mosquito *-'p!onats!ɛkts!ɛk*
mouse *-kō'lx̣ul* (*-cō*, Kathlamet)
newt *-qosā'na*, *-latsē'mɛnmɛn*
screech-owl *-'cx̣ux̣*
pheasant (?) *-ni'ctx̣uic*
pigeon *-qamɛn*
porgy *-qalx̣t!ɛ'mx̣*
porpoise *-kō'tckōtc*
robin *-tsiā'stsias*
salmon, calico *-'laatcx̣*
salmon, silver-side *-'qawɛn*
salmon, blue-back *-tsoyeha*
seal *-'lxaiu* (*-qē'sgoax*, Kathlamet)
sea-lion, young *-'xoē*
skunk *-pɛnpɛn* (masculine BADGER)
snail *-ts!ɛmē'nxan*
snail *-ts!ɛmō'ikx̣an*
snail *-ʟ!ē'xtan*
snipe *-ē'xsa*
teal-duck *-munts!ē'kts!ēk*
trout *-p!ā'lō*
trout (?) *-q!ē'xonē*
woodpecker (female) *-'kx̣uʟpa*
woodpecker (male) *-ntciawî'ct*
wasp *-'pa*

(4) Very few animals are neuter, as:

bird *-lā'lax* (*-p!ɛ'cp!ɛc*, Kathlamet)
dog *-kē'wisx̣* (*-k!u'k!ut*, Kathlamet)
shellfish (sp.?) *-k!iʟa'ta*
crab *-qaʟxē'la* (= one who crawls much)

(5) Almost all nouns expressing qualities are masculine, as:

-nu'kstx̣ smallness
-'(k!e)sīʟ sharpness
-'xalx·tē flatness
-'pik heavy weight
-'ts!axan large belly
-'wa expense
-'q!atxal badness
-'q!ē'latcx·ēna meanness
-lq!ē'latcx·ita quiet
-'yuʟ!l pride
-'k!oac(ɛ̄mit) fear
-kā'kx̣uʟ homesickness (subject of transitive verb)
-kanā'tē life
-tsā'tsa cold
-'lkuilē similarity
-'tukɪtx good luck
-'tc!a sickness
-'p!onɛnkan blindness
-'kunanɛm diligence
-(ki)ma'tct(amit) shame
-'ʟ!kin bow legs
-'ʟk!ōp being squeezed out (= one-eyed)
-qē'wam sleepiness (subject of transitive verb, and possessive)
-'tc!pux round head (= forehead)
-'p!aqa flat head

-'*mɛnukt* blackened face
-'(*ki*)*matck* spots, painted face
-'*tckc* stench
-'*q!ɛs* sweet smell
-'*ts!ēmɛn* sweetness
-'*ɬ!ɬ* bitterness
-'*ɬēlam* ten
-'*k!amōnak* hundred
-'*t!ōwil* experience (from *t!ō* good)
-'(*ke*)*t!ōi*, -'*t!ōxōtskin* } skill
-'*t!ōxakamit* (= good mind) cleverness
-*ɬ!mē'nxut* lie of a male (subject of transitive verb)
-*gō'ɬgɛlē* lie of a female (subject of transitive verb)
-'*maᵉ* act of hitting (= to hit)
-'*kakamit* mind (= to think)
-'*qalqt* a wail (= to wail)
-'*kux* smell (= to smell)

The following are exceptions:

Feminine

-*xti* smokiness (= cataract of eye)
-'*lō* hunger (subject of transitive verb)
-'*mᵉō* what is chewed
-'*qōtck* cold in head

Neuter

-*xax* sadness
-'*patseu* red head
-'*xauyam* what excites sympathy

Plural

-'*kᵘɬil* custom
-'*kiɬau* taboo
-(*ki*)*pā'lau* witchcraft
-'*katakox* cleverness

(6) The verbal noun corresponding to the past-passive participle is generally masculine, as:

-'*ɬxalɛmax* what is eaten
-'*tcxɛmal* what is boiled
-'*ctxul* what is carried
-'*k!ē'wulal* what has been picked
-'*xōtckin* work

Exceptions to this rule are—

ō'mɛl purchase money
ɬiā'pōna what has been brought to him

(7) Nouns formed from particles are generally masculine, as:

-*yuɬ!l* pride (from *yūɬ!l*)
-*k!ē'wax* flower (from *wax*)
-*waxō'mi* copper (from *wax*)
-*k!wacᵉō'mi* fear (from *k!wac*)
-*giɬq!up* cut (from *ɬq!up*)
-*gē'ɬ!mɛnɬ!mɛn* syphilis from *ɬ!mɛn* rotten)

(8) No rules can be given for the gender of other nouns. Masculine are, for instance:

-*mā'ma* pewter wort
-*ɬᵉa* body
-*qtq* head
-*qtcō* hair, skin with hair
-*qōt* eye
-*katcx* nose

-*cqʟ* mouth, beak, bill
-*mist* beak
-*tuk* neck
-*mxtc* heart
-*to* breast
-*wan* belly
-*itcx̣* tail
-*pote* arm
-*pā'tpat* net
-*'tcɛltcɛl* brass buttons
-*kupku'p* short dentalia
-*qā'lxal* gambling-disks
-*ʟ!alʟ!al* gambling-disks
-*q!ā'lq!al* short baton
-*qō'mxōm* cedar-bark basket
-*'ʟ!uwalkʟ!uwalk* mud
-*q!ē'qotqot* fever
-*'pqunx̣* large round spruce-root basket (f. small round spruce-root basket)
-*ctc!ē'ct* clam basket
-*'maʟ* bay, sea, river
-*ᵋō'k* blanket
-*'lk·au* cradle
-*'qēʟ* creek, brook
-*'ktcxɛm* dance of shaman
-*'ʟq* digging-stick
-*'ᵋam* dish
-*'pqōn* down of bird
-*'qcil* fish-trap
-*ci'kc* friend
-*'px̣il* grease
-*'lx̣* ground, earth
-*'ʟan* short thong, string, pin for blanket
-*'cgan* cedar (f. bucket, cup; n. plank)
-*'tsōʟ* harpoon-shaft
-*'msta* hat
-*'tōʟ* heat
-*'k·ik* hook
-*kā'pa* ice
-*'paqc* boil, itch
-*'kx̣ōn* leaf
-*'mᵋɛcx̣* log, tree, wood (f. kettle)
-*'ʟkuiʟx̣* mat
-*pā'kx̣al* mountain
-*'sik* paddle
-*'ᵋapta* roe
-*'pa-it* rope
-*'nx̣at* plank
-*gō'cax* sky
-*'tcxa* point of sealing-spear
-*kā'wok* shaman's guardian spirit
-*'cᵋō* horn spoon
-*'maktc* spruce
-*qā'nakc* stone (f. large bowlder)

Feminine are, for instance,

-*'kta* thing
-*'qat* wind
-*'ᵋɛlqɛl* polypodium
-*cā'qcaq* pteris
-*p!ō'x̣p!ōx̣* elbow
-*tcx̣ō'ltcx̣ōl* lungs
-*sɛ'qsɛq* buck-skin
-*k!oyē'k!oyē* finger-ring
-*ga'cgas* sealing-spear
-*'ᵋwîsqwîs* breaking of wind
-*'ʟk!ɛnʟk!ɛn* open basket
-*'lɛxlɛx* scales
-*'lɛmlɛm* rotten wood
-*tspux* forehead
-*utca* ear
-*atcx* tooth
-*ᵋatcx̣* chest
-*mō'kuē* throat
-*'kutcx̣* bark
-*'putc* anus
-*'kci* finger
-*'px̣a* alder-bark
-*ᵋlɛ'm* bark
-*'pʟ!ikē* bow
-*ʟē'qtsɛn* box
-*pā'utc* crab-apple

-*ᵋalɛptckix* fire
-*'gaʟ* fish-weir
-*'lalx̣* camass
-*'tcala* grindstone
-*'mala* marrow, kernel
-*'pul* night, darkness
-*mā'p* plank
-*gā'wē* raspberry
-*'mopa* rushes
-*gu'nkx̣un* salal-berry
-*'skʟ* sinew
-*'tcin* stump, foot of tree
-*ᵋā'ʟax* sun
-*ē'x̣atk* trail
-*mō'tan* twine of willow-bark
-*'pcam* piece of twine
-*tcā'nix* wedge
-*'pʟx* well

Neuter are, for instance,

-*tsɛ'xtsɛx* gravel, thorn
-*qulā'ᵋula* egg
-*paa* nape
-*list* tail of fish
-*ᵋwit* leg
-*pc* foot
-*qʟq* armor
-*qoaq* blanket
-*ᵋa'tcau* grease
-*'skuic* mat bag
-*'tō* milk, breast
-*tcuq* water
-*kckuī'* pitch wood

The number of these words that appear *only* in the neuter gender is so small that we may almost suspect that the neuter was until recently indefinite and used to indicate both indefinite singular and plural.

§ 35. DUAL AND PLURAL

(1) Nouns that are naturally dual are:

ckucku'c testicles
sxōst eyes, face
ckulkulō'ʟ spear
cɛmtk spit for roasting
cɛ'qxō double-pointed arrow
cpā'ix blanket made of two deer-skins
ctc!ā'maq castorium
cᵋōlā'l ground-hog blanket, made of two skins
cɛqoala'la double-barreled gun
cik!ōk double ball for game
ci'lxatct bed platform on sides of house
sxutsō'osiq bed platform in front and rear of house
sʟan bowstring
cʟā'nist two-stranded twine

There are other words that are always dual, for the form of which no reason can be given, as:

ckā'kolē eel
cɛnqētqē't hawk
sɛ'ntɛptɛp shrew
sɛq!alōlō butterfly
ckaqɛ'l dentalia of the length of 40 to a fathom
cii'q half-fathom
cgē'can fern-root (pl. *ōguē'can*)

(2) Nouns that are naturally plural are:

tqamilā'lɛq sand
tɛ'psō grass
tktē'ma property
t!ōʟ house (= dwelling of several families)
tkɛmôm ashes

In other cases where the noun occurs always with plural prefix the reason is not apparent, as in:

tā'ta-is codfish	*tx̣t* smoke
tmē'nᵉa flounder	*t-'skō* tattooing
tts!ē'laq grasshopper	*tɛmᵉā'ēma* prairie

§ 36. SECONDARY SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER

Masculine and feminine have assumed the secondary significance of largeness and smallness. This feature appears most clearly in those cases in which a stem used as a masculine expresses a large object, while as a feminine it expresses a similar smaller object. Examples of this use are:

ī'pɛnpɛn badger	*ō'pɛnpɛn* skunk
ē'pqunx large round spruce-root basket	*ō'pqunx* small round spruce-root basket
ē'cgan cedar	*ō'cgan* basket, cup
ē'mᵉɛcx̣ log, tree, wood	*ō'mᵉɛcx̣* kettle

One example at least of the reverse relation has come to my notice:

iqā'nakc stone	*ōqō'nakc* large bowlder

In one case the feminine pronoun expresses plurality:

ikanī'm canoe	*ōkunī'm* canoes

There are also a few cases in which smallness is expressed by what appears to be the dual form:

ikanī'm canoe	*sᵉamē'ksōs* toy canoe
skɛnī'm toy canoe	

§ 37. GENDER OF PLURAL

The use of the pronouns for expressing plurality has come to be exceedingly irregular. The verbal forms suggest that originally *t-* was the true third person plural, which was perhaps originally used for human beings only.

(1) Many plurals of words designating human beings retain the pronoun *t-*.

	Singular	Plural
man	*ī'kala*	*tkā'lauks*
women		*tā'nɛmckc*
children		*tqā'cōcinîkc*
virgin	*ōhō't!au*	*that!aunā'na*
old man	*iq!eyō'qxut*	*tq!eyō'qtikc*

In some cases a more indefinite number may be expressed by *l-*. Thus we find for WOMEN both *lā'nɛmckc* and *tā'nɛmckc*; for COMMON PERSON *lxalā'yuēma* and *txalā'yuēma*.

(2) The articles used in the majority of cases for expressing plurality are *t-* and *ʟ-*. Examples of these are the following:

	Singular	Plural
beak	*ē'-mist*	*t-mēctkc*
belly	*ē=wan*[1]	*t=unaks*[1]
bird (sp.?)	*i-pō'ēpoē*	*t-poēpō'yukc*
blanket	*e-ᵉō'k*	*t!ōkkc* (also indefinite *ʟᵉōk*)
cheek	*i=mɛlqtan*[1]	*t='mɛlqtanuks*[1]
crane	*i-qoā'cqoac*	*t-ɢoacgoā'cɛkc*
deer	*ē-mā'cɛn*	*t-macā'nukc*
a bird	*ēnts!x̣*	*tɛnts!ɛ'x̣ukc*
eye	*ē'-qxōt*	*t-qō'tɛkc* (dual *s-qōct*)
dorsal fin	*ē'-gala*	*t-kala(ikc)*
monster	*īqctxē'ʟau*	*t-qctxēʟā'wukc*
pectoral fins		*t-qoēā'nikc*
arrow	*ō'-kulaitan*	*t-kalai'tanɛma*
bunch of grass	*ō-pā'wilᵉ*	*t-pā'wilᵉ-ma*
chicken-hawk	*ō'-npitc*	*tɛ-npî'tckc* and *ʟɛ-npî'tckc*
coat	*ō-q!oē'ʟxap*	*t-q!ēʟxā'pukc* and *ʟ-q!ēʟxā'pukc*
chipmunk	*ō'-ts!ikin*	*tɛ'-ts!ikin*
flounder	*ō-lā'ta-is*	*tɛ-lā'ta-is*
dip-net	*ō-k!unx̣ā'tē*	*t-k!anx̣ā'tē*
board	*ʟɛ'-cgan*	*tɛ'-cgan*
bird	*ʟ-lā'lɛx*	*t-lalā'xukc*
albatross	*i-tā'mɛla*	*ʟ-tamɛlā'yikc*
open-work clam basket	*ī'-ck!alē*	*ʟ-ck!alā'yukc*
large cedar-bark basket	*i-qō'mxōm*	*ʟ-qōmxō'mukc*
grizzly-bear	*i-cā'yim*	*ʟ-cayā'mukc*
eyelashes		*ʟ-lxō'tks*
bailer	*o-ᵉoētēwā'ʟxtē*	*ʟ!itēwā'ʟxtē*
open-work basket	*ō-ʟk!ɛ'nk!ɛn*	*ʟk!ɛnʟk!ā'nukc*
round basket	*ō'-pqunx̣*	*ʟpqu'nx̣ukc*
long baton	*ō'-kumatk*	*ʟɛ'-kumatk*
belt	*ō'-koēma*	*ʟɛ'-kēma*
bucket	*ō'-cgan*	*ʟɛ'-cgɛn-ma*
antler	*ʟ-ᵉɛ'tcam*	*ʟ-ᵉatcā'ma*
mountain-goat blanket	*ʟ-qoa'q*	*ʟ-qoa'q-ma*

[1] The sign = indicates that a possessive pronoun is here required.

(3) There are a few cases in which the article *ō-* is used for expressing the plural, as:

	Singular	Plural
coat	*ō'ʟqēkc*	*ō'-ʟqēkc*
canoe	*ikanī'm*	*ō-kunī'm*
eagle	*u-tc!aktc!ā'k*	*u-tc!aktc!ā'kciniks* (only used in tale)

(4) A number of words whose plural was originally a distributive retain the masculine pronoun, as:

	Singular	Plural
abalone	*i-ktē'luwa-itk*	*i-ktēluwā'itgᴇma*
bone arrow-point	*i-gō'ma(tk)*	*i-gomā'tgᴇma*
short baton	*i-q!ā'lqal*	*i-q!alq!alō'ma*
black bear	*i-i'tsxut*	*i-i'tsxutᴇma*
buck-skin straps		*i-t!ā'lᴇqᴇma*
cedar	*ē'-cgan*	*ē'-cgᴇnᴇma*
elk	*i-mō'lak*	*i-mō'lakuma*
female	*ē'-nēmckc*	*ē-nēmckcō'ma*

Not all words of this type, however, retain the masculine pronoun, as:

	Singular.	Plural.
bay	*ē'-maʟ*	*ʟᴇ-mā'ʟᴇ-ma*
small bluff	*i-kak!ā'lat*	*ʟ-kak!ā'latᴇ-ma*
creek	*ē'-qēʟ*	*t!ā'ʟᴇma* (fortis for elided *q*, see § 6.3)
disease	*ē'-tc!a*	*t-tc!ā'ma*

Feminine distributives do not seem to retain their gender, as:

	Singular	Plural
arrow	*ō'kulaitan*	*t-kalai'tanᴇ-ma*
bunch of grass	*ō-pā'wilᴱ*	*t-pā'wilᴱ-ma*
dip-net	*ō'-nuxcin*	*ʟ-nuxci'nᴇ-ma*

§ 38. PLURAL SUFFIXES

(1) Besides the use of pronominal gender for designating plurality, Chinook seems to have distinguished human beings from other nouns also by the use of a separate plural suffix *-ikc, -uks* the use of which for human beings is illustrated by the examples given in § 37.1. At present the ending *-uks* is used for forming the plural of many words, including names of animals and of inanimate objects.

On the whole, this suffix is accompanied by a shift of the accent to the penultima. When the last vowel is the obscure ᴇ followed by an *l*, *m*, or *n*, it is lengthened to *ā* under the stress of the accent (see § 5); *-ē* changes in these cases to *-āy*.

The following are examples of the shift of accent without accompanying change of vowel:

	Singular	Plural
owl	*i-qoē'lqoēl*	*t-qoēlqoē'luks*
crane	*i-qoā'cqoac*	*t-ɋoacɋoā'cɛkc*
large cedar-bark basket	*i-qō'mxōm*	*ʟ-qōmxō'mukc*
Tillamook Indian	*ʟ!ē'lēm*	*T!ilē'muks*
dog	*ʟ-kē'wucx̣*	*t-kēwu'cx̣ɛks*
coat	*o-q!oē'ʟxap*	*ʟ-q!ēʟxā'pukc*
fawn	*o-q!oē'xcap*	*t-q!ēxcā'puks*
twine	*c-ʟā'nict*	*ʟanē'ctuks*
sea-lion	*i-gē'pix·ʟ*	*i-gipē'x·ʟuks*
eight	*ksto'xtkin*	*kstoxtkē'niks* (eight persons)
moon	*ō-kʟɛ'mēn*	*ʟ-kʟmē'naks*
egg	*ʟ-qulā'ᵋwula*	*ʟ-qulaᵋwulā'uks*
monster	*i-qctxē'ʟau*	*t-qctxēʟā'wuks*
turtle	*ē'ʟaxoa*	*ʟaxoā'yîkc*
albatross	*i-tā'mɛla*	*ʟ-tamɛlā'yîkc*
dead, corpse	*ʟ-mē'malust*	*t-memalō'stiks*
dusk	*ō-munts!ē'kts!ik*	*t-munts!ēkts!ē'kuks*
wolf	*i-lē'q!am*	*ʟ-lēq!ā'muks*
mole	*u-cē'ntan*	*t-cēntā'nuks*
mouse	*u-kō'lx̣ul*	*u-kolō'luks* (*lx̣* changes to *l*; see § 6)
evening	*tsō'yust*	*tsōyō'stɛks*

Words are quite numerous in which the shift of accent produces a change of vowel:

	Singular	Plural
pigeon	*ō'-ᵋomɛn*	*t!amā'niks*
fly	*ē'-mōtsgɛn*	*t-mōtsgā'nuks*
box	*ō-ʟē'qsɛn*	*ʟeqsā'nuks*
open-work basket	*ō-ʟk!ɛ'nʟk!ɛn*	*ʟk!ɛnʟk!ā'nuks*
deer	*ē-mā'sɛn*	*t-masā'niks*
skunk	*ō-'pɛnpɛn*	*t-pɛnpā'nuks*
badger	*ī'-pɛnpɛn*	*i-pɛnpā'nuks*
squirrel	*i-k!ā'utɛn*	*t-k!autā'nuks*
pelican	*ī'-tcuyɛn*	*ʟ-tcuyā'nuks*
grizzly bear	*i-cā'yim*	*ʟ-cayā'mukc*
lance	*i-squī'ʟ!ɛm*	*squiʟ!ā'muks*
clam basket	*ī'-ck!alē*	*ʟ-ck!alā'yukc*
frog	*i-q!oatɛ'nxēxē*	*t-q!oatɛnxēxā'yukc*
frog	*ō-cuē'ē*	*t-cueā'yukc*

The plural of *i-po'ēpoē* (a bird), is *t-poēpō'yuks*. Here the accent remains on the *o*, although it is shifted to the next syllable, and the *ē* becomes consonantic.

Here belongs also *L-lā'lEx* BIRD, plural *t-lalā'xukc*, in which word the lengthening of the *E* to *ā* before *x* is irregular.

A number of monosyllabic stems are treated in the same manner, as those here described:

	Singular	Plural
kettle	*ō^{ɛ}omē'cx̣*	*L-^{ɛ}mē'cx̣ukc*
flounder	*ō-pkē'cx̣*	*ō-pkē'cx̣ukc*
round basket	*ō'-pqunx̣*	*L-pqu'nx̣ukc*
eye	*ē'-qōt*	*t-qō'tEkc*
eyelashes		*L-l-xō'tks*
cinnamon bear	*i-t!E'k*	*i-t!E'kks*
blanket	*e-^{ɛ}ō'k*	*t!ōkkc*
chicken-hawk	*ō'-npitc*	*tE-npî'tckc*
well	*ō-pLx*	*L-pLxoa'kc*

In a number of words the accent does not shift:

	Singular	Plural
old person	*i-q!eyō'qut*	*t-q!eyō'qtîks*
shag	*i-pa'^{ɛ}owē*	*L-pā'qo-ikc*
male	*i'-kala*	*t-ka'la-ukc*

This is particularly frequent in terms which occur always with possessive pronouns, such as terms designating parts of the body and relationships:

ear *ō'-utca*	*t-iā'-utcakc* his ears
his belly *ia'-wan*	*tgā'-unakc* their bellies
mouth *i-cqL*	*tgā'-cqLEkc* their mouths
head *ē-qtq*	*tgā'-qtqEkc* their heads
cheek *ē'-mElqtan*	*tgā'-mElqtanukc* their cheeks
———	*tgā'-amcukc* their guts
fin *ē'-gala*	*t-iā'-gala-ikc* his fins
his father *L-iā'mama*	*L-mcā'-mama-ikc* your fathers
his elder brother *iā'-x̣k!un*	*iā'-x̣k!uniks* his elder brothers
his younger brother *iā'-wux̣*	*iā'-wux̣tikc* his younger brothers
his maternal uncle *iā'-tata*	*L-iā'-tatayukc* his uncles

Here belong also:

lid *i-sā'mEl^{ɛ}*	*L-iā'-sEmElqaks* their lids
five *quî'nEm*	*quî'nEmiks* five persons
ten of them *i-tā'-Lēlam*	*i-tā'-Lēlamyuks* ten persons
six *tE'xEm*	*i-tā'-k!a-txEmiks* six in a canoe

The ending *-tikc* instead of *-(i)kc* is used particularly with indefinite numerals, and expresses a plurality of human beings:

all *ka'nauwē*	*kanauwē'tiks* all persons
few *mɛ'nx·ka*	*mɛ'nx·katikc* a few persons
many (their number) *ʟgā'pɛla*	*ʟgā'pɛlatikc* many persons
several *ʟɛ'xawē*	*ʟɛ'xawētikc* several persons

Analogous are the forms of—

up river *ma'ēma*	*t-maemā'tɛkc* those up river
poor (his poverty) *ʟā'xauyam*	*ʟgā'xauyamtikc* the poor ones
his younger brother *iā'wuẋ*	*iā'-wuẋtikc* his younger brothers

Still a different connective element appears in—

man *ī'-kala*	*ī-kā'lamuks* men

Attention may also be called to the forms—

	Singular	Plural
children		*t-qā'cōcīnikc*
eagle	*u-tcaktcā'k*	*u-tcaktcā'ktcinikc*
gull	*i-qonē'qonē*	*i-qonēqonē'tcinikc*
raven	*i-qoalē'ẋoa*	*i-qoalē'ẋoatcinikc*
crow	*u-k!onō'*	*u-k!onō'tcinikc*

The last four forms occur in a wail in a myth (Chinook Texts, p. 40) and are not the ordinary plurals of these words.

(2) The frequent plural-suffix *-ma* (Kathlamet *-maẋ*) seems to have been originally a distributive element. This appears particularly clearly in the words *ē'x·tɛmaē* SOMETIMES (*ēx·t* one; *-ma* distributive; *-ē* adverbial); *kanā'mtɛma* BOTH (*kanā'm* both, together; *-ma* distributive). Following are examples of this suffix. In most cases the accent is drawn toward the end of the word:

	Singular	Plural
abalone	*i-ktē'luwa-itk*	*i-ktēluwa'itgɛma*
bone arrow-point	*i-gō'matk*	*i-gomā'tgɛma*
chisels		*ʟqayā'tgɛma*
willow	*ē-lā'itk*	*ē-lā'itgɛma*; *ē-lā'ēma*
disease	*ē'-tc!a*	*t-tc!ā'ma*
geese		*t-k!elak!elā'ma*
knife	*i-qēwī'qē*	*i-qēwiqē'ma* iron
saliva	*ʟ-iā'-mẋtē* (his—)	*tɛ-mẋtē'ma*
whale	*ī'-kolē*	*i-kolē'ma*
meat	*ē'-ʟˢwuʟɛ*	*ʟ!olē'ma*
pike	*ē'-qōqō*	*t-qōqō'ma*
seal	*ō'-lẋaiu*	*ō-lẋaiō'ma*
elder brother!	*ka'pxō*	*kā'pxōma*, *ā'pxōma*
breast (female)	*i'-tca-tō* (her—)	*t-gā'-tōma* (their—)

	Singular	Plural
bucket	*ō'-cgan*	*t-cgᴇ'nma*
cedar	*ī'-cgan*	*ī-cgᴇ'nma*
what	*tān*	*tā'nma*
stump	*ō'-tcin*	*t-tcī'nma*
arrow	*ō-kulai'tan*	*ō-ḳulai'tanᴇma, t-ka-lai'tanᴇma*
dipnet	*ō'-nuχcin*	*t-nuχci'nᴇma*
antler	*L-ᵉᴇ'tcam*	*L-ᵉᴇtcā'ma*
bear	*i-i'tsxut*	*i-itsxu'tᴇma*
bluff	*i-kak!ā'lat*	*L-kak!ā'latᴇma*
porpoise	*u-kō'tc-kōtc*	*u-kōtckō'tcᴇma*
mountain	*i-pā'kχal*	*L-pakχā'lᴇma*
night	*ō-'pōl*	*L-pō'lᴇma*
bunch of grass	*ō-pā'ᵉwil*	*t-pā'ᵉwilᴇma*
common person	*gìā'-q!atxal*	*gìtā'-q!atxalᴇma*
year	*i-qē'tak*	*i-qē'takᴇma*
elk	*i-mō'lak*	*i-mō'lakᴇma, i-mō'la-kuma*
blanket	*L-qoa'q*	*L-qoa'qᴇma*
nail	*i-tsū'saq*	*i-tsusā'qᴇma*
grey	*cpᴇq*	*cpᴇ'qᴇma*[2]
half fathom	*cii'q!*	*cii'q!ma*
deerskin blanket	*cpā'ix*	*tpayi'xᴇma*
another	*tā'nuχ*	*tᴇnō'χuma*
mat	*ē'-LkuiLχ*	*Lkuē'Lχᴇma*
well	*ō-pLχ*	*Lā'pLχuma*[1]
strong person	*tgᴇLxēwulχ·*	*tgā'Lxēwulx·ᴇma*
torch	*tk!ē'wax*	*tk!ēwaxᴇ'ma*
bay	*ē'-maL*	*Lᴇ-mā'Lᴇma*
knee	*ō'q!ōxL*	*tq!ō'xLma*
full	*pāL*	*pā'Lma*[2]

A peculiar form is *oχō'χōc* PILE, plural *oχō χōcᴇma*, which is a verbal form signifying THEY ARE ON THE GROUND.

In a few cases in which the suffix *-ma* occurs with obscure connective vowel, like the preceding ones, changes of consonants occur in the end of the word:

	Singular	Plural
day	*ōᵉō'Lax*	*LᵉaLā'ma*
(his) fathom	*ā'yana*	*L-iā'-nχama* (stem *-nχ*)
spruce	*ē'-maktc*	*t-mā'ktc-χᴇma*
sea-otter	*e-lā'kē*	*i-lagē'lᴇma*

Irregular is also the change in vowel in *ē'-qēL* CREEK, plural *t!ā'Lᴇma*.

[1] Also *Lā'pLχoakc.* [2] These are particles without pronominal plural sign.

A number of words take the ending *-ma* with connective vowel. Examples of the connective vowel *-ō-* are:

	Singular	Plural
female	*ē'-nēmckc*	*ē-nēmckcō'ma*
ground-hog blanket	*cᵋolā'lᵋ*	*t!ōlā'lᵋōma*
baton	*i-q!ā'lq!al*	*i-q!alq!alō'ma*
rock	*ō-qō'nakc*	*t-qᴇnakcō'ma*
skin	*c̄-ᵋē'c*	*ē-ᵋcō'ma*
grandson!	*qāc*	*qā'cōma*
prairie	*tᴇ-mᵋa'ēma*	*tᴇ-mᵋa'ēmayōma*

The last of these seems to be a double plural, the stem being probably *-mᵋa*.

Another series of words take *-ē-* as connective vowel, sometimes *-wē-* or *-oē-*:

	Singular	Plural
son!	*āq*	*ā'qxoēma*
young seal	*ā'-xoē*	*a-xō'yēwēma*
widow whose husband has been dead a long time	*a-kᴇ'lial*	*t-kᴇliā'lowēma*
island	*lᴇx̣*	*lᴇx̣oē'ma*
younger sister!	*āts*	*ā'tsēma*
younger brother!	*a'o*	*a'oēma*
town	*ē'lx̣am*	*têlx̣amē'ma*
house	*t!ōʟ*	*t!ōʟē'ma*

Here belong also:

thing	*i'-kta*	*t-iā'-ktema* his things
prairie		*tᴇmᵋā'ēma* [1]
a plant		*i-q!aʟxoē'ma*

and the irregular forms:

log	*ē'-mᵋᴇcx̣*	*ʟ-mqcᴇmā'yema*
common man	*ʟ-xā'yal*	*ʟ-xalā'yuēma*
warrior	*ʟ-t!ō'xoyal*	*t!ōxolā'yuēma*

In at least one of these words the origin of the *-ē* is reducible to a probable fuller form of the word. The stem of the word HOUSE is *-quʟē* in Kathlamet, and would naturally form the plural *ṫquʟēma*, which, in Lower Chinook, would take the form *t!ōʟē'ma*.

(3) A considerable number of words have no plural suffix whatever, but differ only in the pronoun, or may even have the same

[1] See above.

pronoun in singular and plural. Examples of these are contained in the lists in § 37. Additional examples are:

	Singular	Plural
beaver	*i-qoa-inē'nē*	*t-qoa-inē'nē*
arm	*ī'-potē*	*t-potē*
arm-pit	*i-kEmElā'pix·*	*t-kEmElā'pix·*
cut of blubber	*i-gitē'tcxala*	*t-gitē'tcxala*
bone	*i-kamō'kx̣uk*	*t-kamō'kx̣uk*
dip-net	*ē'-qxacga*	*tE'-qxacga*
buoy	*ō-'qxun*	*LE'-qxun*
fresh-water clam	*ō'-sala*	*LE'-sala*
coal	*ō-qō'Lx̣atsx·*	*L-qā'Lx̣atsx·*
crab-apple	*ō-pā'utc*	*L-pā'utc*
finger	*ō-kci*	*t-kci*
canoe	*i-kanī'm*	*ō-kunī'm*

(4) Several terms of relationship and a few other related words have a plural in *-nāna*, as:

	Singular	Plural
parent-in-law	*ē-'qsix·*	*tE'-qsix·-nana*
sister's son	*i'-Latx·En*	*t-Latx·En-nana*
wife's sister	*ō'-pōtsxan*	*t-pō'tsxan-nana*
father's sister	*ō-Lak*	*t-Lak-nana*
cousin (children of brother and sister)	*L-qa'mgē*	*t-qa'mgē-nana*
Also:		
virgin	*ō-hō't!au*	*t-hā't!au-nana*
friend	*i-ci'kc*	*t-ci'kc-nana*

A few terms of relationship have plural forms in *-iks* or the distributive *-ma*, as:

	Singular	Plural
father	*L-mama*	*L-mama-ikc*
elder brother	*i-x̣k!un*	*t-x̣k!un-ikc*
younger brother	*i-wux̣*	*t-wux̣-tikc*
mother's brother	*i-tata*	*t-tata-ikc*
younger brother! (address)	*a'o*	*a'oema*
daughter's child! (address)	*qāc*	*qā'cōma*

(5) A number of words have peculiar plural suffixes:

	Singular	Plural
chief	*i-kā'nax*	*t-kanā'x-imct*
mother	*L-aa*	*L-atct*
youth	*i-q'oā'lipx·*	*t-q!ulipx·-unā'yu* (see under 6) § 12
sweetheart	*L-qōlix·*	*t-'qōleyū*

(6) In a number of cases the plural is formed by the insertion of the syllable *-yū-* which may be either an affix or may be considered as an expansion of the vowel of the stem by dieresis.

	Singular	Plural
to bathe	*-ᵋōt*	*-ᵋōyut*
to rise	*-xalatck*	*-xalayutck*
to notch	*-ts!ēLx*	*-ts!ā'yuLx*
to dance	*-wîtck*	*-wāyutck*
to awaken	*-ᵋōtc*	*-ᵋōyutc*

(7) The personal demonstrative pronoun has a plural in *-c*.

x·ī'ta these things — *x·ī'tac* these men
qō'ta those things — *qō'tac* those men } (see §44)

(8) Several nouns and verbs form singular and plural from distinct or distantly related stems, as:

	Singular	Plural
woman	*ō-ᵋō'kuil*	*t-ā'nEmckc*
child	*L-k!ā'sks*	*t-qā'sōsinîks*
child (some one's)	*L-xa*	*L-a*
relative	*L-icx*	*t-cōlal*
slave	*ē-la'itix·*	*t-ēltgēu*
eye	*ē'-qot*	Dual *s-qōct*
to be	*-ō-c*	*-x-ēla-itix·*
to cry	*-gE'tsax*	*-xēnēm*
to stand	*-tx̣uit*	*-xēna*
to die	*-ō-mEqt*	*-x̣E'-L-ait*
to kill	*-ā-waᵋ*	*-o-tēna*

§ 39. VOCATIVE

A few nouns, particularly terms of relationship, have a vocative, which has no pronominal element, as:

aō younger brother!
āts younger sister!
kā'pxō elder brother! elder sister!
qāc grandchild! (said by man)
ka'ē grandchild! (said by woman)
mā'ma father!
āq son!
āc daughter!
cikc friend!

§ 40. DERIVATION OF NOUNS

On the whole the derivation of the numerous polysyllabic nouns in Chinook is obscure. Evidently a considerable number of nominal affixes exist, which, however, occur so rarely that their significance can not be determined. Examples are the derivatives from the stem *ēlx̣* LAND, COUNTRY—*ilē'ē* COUNTRY (the *x̣* disappears because the vowel following *lx̣* carries the accent) *LgōLē'lx̣Emk* PERSON, *ē'lx̣am* TOWN,

tê'lx·ɛm PEOPLE. From the stem *xē* we have *iqoatɛ'xēxē* BULLFROG; from the stem *kon*, *iqtō'konkon* WOODPECKER.

A few affixes only occur fairly frequently, but even in these cases it is sometimes impossible to classify the words satisfactorily.

1. ***-kē-***. I presume this prefix is the same as, or at least related to, the verbal prefix *-ki*, *-gi*, which signifies that a verb usually transitive is used without object. Thus may be explained—

o'giʟq!up a cut
igē'ʟ!mɛnʟ!mɛn something rotten
tgilē'matk store
oguē'pχatē alder (=wood for dyeing)
ik!ē'wulɛlqʟ food
ē'k·it payment for a wife
ʟk!ē'wax torch, flower
tkipalā'wul word
tkimō'cx·ɛm toy
ik!etē'nax game

2. ***-qe-***. This seems to be a nominal prefix corresponding to the verbal reflexive *-x-*.

ōqōgu'nkʟatk club (from *-x-gunk* to club)
ʟqē'tcamētē comb (from *-xɛl-tciam* to comb one's self)
ʟqēʟē'tcuwa hat (from *-xɛnʟē'tcuwa* to hang a round thing on top of one's self)
iqats!ē'ʟxak panther } (from *-xtsē'ʟxakō* to have a notch around
ōqotsiā'yuʟxak ants } one's self)

Judging from these examples, it would seem plausible that most nouns beginning with *-gi-*, *-ki-*, *-k!ē-*, *-qē-*, *-q!ē-*, contain these prefixes, for instance:

igē'luχtcutk arrow-head
igē'mχatk burial
ige'lˢotē elk-skin
oquē'nχak plank
ōk!wē'lak dried salmon

and other similar ones. Here may also belong

oquewi'qe knife
oq!welā'wulχ maturing girl (the one who is moved up, hidden?)
iq!eyō'qxut old

The extensive use of these prefixes is also illustrated by—

iqēk!ɛ's BRASS, but
ik!ɛ'sa GALL (both from *k!ɛs* YELLOW)
iqē'p!al doorway (probably from *-p!a* INTO [=that into which people always enter])

3. *ɯɯ-* is a local prefix.

naʟxoa'p HOLE (from *ʟxoa'p* to dig)
naᶜē'lim the country of the Tillamook (from *ᶜēlim*)

4. *-tē* a suffix signifying TREE, WOOD.

oguē'pχatē alder (= wood for dyeing).

5. *-tk* is a nominal suffix the significance of which is quite obscure. In a few cases it indicates the point of an object, but in many cases this explanation is quite unsatisfactory. It seems possible that this suffix is the same as the verbal stem *-tk* TO PUT DOWN, TO DEPOSIT, so that its meaning might be something on the ground, or something attached to something else, or a part of something else. This explanation would be satisfactory in words like—

ī'potitk forearm
igē'luχtcutk arrow-head
iwa'nɛmatk belly-cut of a fish
ilɛmē'tk BED may be derived from *-ēlχ* GROUND, and may mean PUT DOWN ON THE GROUND
ikaʟxɛ'lɛmatk may mean PUT DOWN TO EAT FROM (= dish)

The following list contains some stems with their nominal and verbal derivatives. It will be noted that in a number of cases the verb is derived from the noun.

-pχa ALDER-BARK.

ō'-pχa alder-bark
ō-guē'-pχa-tē alder
ʟ-gē'-pχa-tē alder-woods
-al-ō'-pχa to dye in alder-bark
ʟ-q-ʟ-al-ō'-pχa dyed cedar-bark

-ts!ēʟx TO NOTCH.

i-qa-ts!ē'ʟx-ak what has a notch around itself (= panther)
ō-qo-ts!ā'yuʟx-ak those with notches around themselves (= ants)
-s-x-ts!ēʟx-akō to make a notch around a thing

-k!anχā'tē DRIFT-NET.

ō-k!unχā'tē drift-net
-xɛn-k!anχā'tē-mam to go to catch in drift-net

nauā'itk NET.

-xe-nauā'itgē to catch in net

-wiuc URINE OF MALE.

ʟ-ō'-wiuc urine
-xa-wīuc to urinate
o-wiū'c-matk chamber

-kxamit TO PAY ATTENTION.

i-ka-kxamit mind
-a-kxamit to pay attention

-gunk TO CLUB.

ō-qō-gu'nk-ʟa-tk club
-x-gunk to club

-tciam TO COMB.

ʟ-qē-tcam-ē-tē comb

-ʟxē TO CRAWL.

ʟ-qa-ʟxē'-la one who crawls much (= crab)

-utca EAR.

ō'-utca ear
-x-wu'tca-tk to hear

-ʟxEl(Em) TO EAT.

i-ka-ʟxE'l-matk dish

-ᵋoic TO BREAK WIND.

-xE'lᵋoic-qc to break wind (perhaps for *-ᵋoicqoic*)
ō'-ᵋwic-qc wind broken

-ʟx AROUND NECK.

-ʟx-ōt it is around the neck
i-q!ē'-ʟx-ōt necklace

-tēwa TO BAIL OUT.

-x-tēwa to bail out canoe
o-ᵋi-tewą'-ʟx-tē for bailing out into the water (= bailer)

-kamōt PROPERTY.

-x·Emōta to barter
t-kamō'ta property

-kema(tk) BATON.

ō'-kumatk baton
-ẋematk to beat time with baton

-ʟē TO CATCH WITH HERRING-RAKE.

-x-ʟē-n to catch with herring-rake
i-qa-ʟē'-ma-tk herring-rake

-mōcx·Em TO PLAY, TO FOOL.

t-ki-mō'cx·Ema toys

-mᵋcẋ WOOD.

ē-mᵋcẋ tree
ō-mᵋēcẋ kettle
-xEl-mEqci to gather wood

-p!a TO ENTER.

i-qē'-p!al doorway

-ɪ̄ētcuwa TO PUT HOLLOW THING ON TOP OF SOMETHING.

ɪ-qē-ɪ̄ētcuwā'-ma hat

-qct LOUSE.

ō-qct louse
-gē-q̇cta to louse

-k^{u}tck TO NET

c-k^{u}tck-mā'tk net-shuttle
-xel-gē'-k^{u}tck to net

-tciakt TO POINT.

-gen-tciaktē to point at something
gi-tcā'aktē-l pointer (= first finger)

-mq TO SPIT.

-ō-ṁqo-it to spit
-ō-m^{e}-a to vomit
ɪ-mx̣-tē saliva

-kta THING, SOMETHING, WHAT.

i-kta thing, something, what
-gem-ō-kti to pay

§ 41. NOUNS AND VERBS DERIVED FROM PARTICLES.

Many particles (see § 46) can be used as stems of nouns. I have found the following examples:

i-yuɪ!l pride 74.11 (from *yūɪ!l* proud)
tk!ē'waxema torches 27.22 (from *wax* light, to shine)
ik!ē'wax flower 165.27 (from *wax* to bloom)
ēwaxō'mi copper (from *wax* light, to shine)
ik!wac^{e}ō'mi fear 213.10 (from *k!wac* afraid)
igi'ɪq!up cut 46.2 (from *ɪq!up* to cut)
igē'ɪ!menɪ!men syphilis (from *ɪ!men* soft, rotten)
nats!e'x piece 69.3 (from *ts!ex* to tear)
naɪxoa'p hole 23.7 (from *ɪxoa'p* to dig)
nalō'lō something round (from *lō'lō* round)
-xā'penic a woman gives herself in payment for services of a shaman 203.11 (from *pā'nic* to give in payment for services of a shaman)
-gē'staq!oam to go to war 270.1 (from *staq!* war)
ɪ-xq!am to be lazy (from *q!am* lazy)
ne-āxaxome to notice 40.14 (from *xāx* to notice)
cē'kpelept it boils (from *lep* to boil)
-xā'giɪq!up to cut one's self (from *ɪq!up* to cut)

Nevertheless this series of stems is sharply set off from all others, since the latter never occur without pronominal elements, excepting a few vocatives that have been mentioned in §39.

§ 42. COMPOUND NOUNS

There are only very few examples of nouns compounded of two independent elements, as:

c-gɛ-mō'lak-tcx̣ict my elk nose 193.19 (*c-* dual; *-gɛ-* my; *-mōlak* elk; *-tcx̣ict* nose)

t!agēla'ktē woman's utensils (*t-* plural; *-ᵉagē'lak* woman; *-ktē* things)

i-k!ani-y-i'lx̣am myth town 216.8 (*i-* masculine· *-kanam* myth; *-elx̣am* town)

A number of nouns, particularly names of animals, are descriptive in character. These were probably used as alternates in case one name of an animal became tabued through the death of a person bearing its name, or a name similar to it. Examples are:

iqats!ē'ɬxak having a notch around itself, i. e., with a thin belly (=panther)

oqots!iā'yuɬxak those having notches around themselves (=ants)

itcā'yau ā'yaqtq snake's head (=dragon fly)

ē'galɛlx going into the water (=mink)

otcō'itxul dip-net maker (=spider)

eqē'wam the sleepy one (=a fish [sp.])

okō'lx̣ul thief (=mouse)

ik!u'tk!ut the one who always breaks (bones) (=dog [Kathlamet dialect])

§ 43. SUBSTANTIVES AS QUALIFIERS

Substantives are often used to qualify other substantives. In this case the qualifying substantive takes the gender of the one qualified:

ō'kx̣ōla oᵉō'wun a male silver-side salmon 109.3

eᵉē'kil imō'lak a female elk 264.3

ē'kx̣ala imō'lak a male elk 264.2

These qualifiers are not adjectives, but remain true substantives, as is shown by the feminine prefix *ō-*, which is characteristic of substantives.

§ 44. *Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs*

(1) ***Demonstrative Pronouns of Lower Chinook.*** The structure of the demonstrative pronoun of the Chinook proper is analogous to that of the noun. It consists of a modal element, which seems to express visibility and invisibility; the personal pronoun which expresses gender; and the demonstrative element, which expresses position near the first, second, and third persons.

(1) Modal element.
Visibility, or existence in present time *x·-*
Invisibility, or existence in past time *q-*

(2) Gender.
Masculine *-i-*
Feminine *-a-*
Neuter *-ʟ-*
Dual *-ct-*
Plural *-t-*

(3) Demonstrative element.
Near first person *-k*
Near second person *-au* (*-i–a*)
Near third person *-ẋ* (*-ō–a*)

In the forms with consonantic pronoun (*-ʟ-*, *-ct-*, *-t-*), the demonstrative element is represented by a secondary character— *-ī-* (*-ē-*) preceding the pronoun for the demonstratives of the first and second persons; *-ō-* for the demonstrative pronoun of the third person.

Thus the following table develops:

Present, Visible

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person	*x·ik*	*x·ak*	*x·īʟik*
Near 2d person	*x·iau*	*x·au*	*x·īʟa*
Near 3d person	*x·ix·*	*x·aẋ*	*x·ōʟa*

	Dual	Plural	Plural, human beings
Near 1st person	*x·īctik*	*x·ītik*	*x·itikc*
Near 2d person	*x·īcta*	*x·īta*	*x·ītac*
Near 3d person	*x·ōcta*	*x·ōta*	*x·ōtac*

Past, Invisible

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person	–	–	–
Near 2d person	*qiau*	–	*qēʟa*
Near 3d person	*qix·*	*qaẋ*	*qōʟa*

	Dual	Plural	Plural, human beings
Near 1st person	–	–	–
Near 2d person	*qēcta*	*qēta*	*qētac*
Near 3d person	*qōcta*	*qōta*	*qōtac*

The forms for past or invisible near the first person do not seem to occur. Besides these, emphatic forms occur in which the initial elements are doubled. Of these I have found the following:

Present, Visible

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
x·ix·ī′k	*ẋaẋā′k*	–
x·ix·iau′	*ẋaẋau′*	–
x·ix·ī′x·	*ẋaẋā′ẋ*	*x·ix·ō′ʟa*
Dual	**Plural**	**Plural, human beings**
–	–	–
–	–	–
x·ix·ō′cta	*x·ix·ō′ta*	*x·ix·ō′tac, x·ix·ō′ʟac*

Past, Invisible

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
–	–	–
qiqiau′	*qaqau′*	–
qiqē′x·	*qaqā′ẋ*	*qiqō′ʟa·*
Dual.	**Plural.**	**Plural, human beings.**
–	–	–
–	–	–
qiqō′cta	*qiqō′ta*	*qiqō′ctac*

On the whole, these doubled forms are used more frequently in a predicative sense than the single forms. Apparently they are often substantival forms, but I think they are better characterized as predicative. Quite often these forms may be translated THIS ONE, WHO.

x·ix·ē′k aʟgē′ṭkᵘʟam x·iʟa ʟq!eyō′qxōt it is this (masc.), he brought it (masc.) this (neut.) old man 67.6

ōq!ō′xōʟ ẋaẋau′ ō′ʟxat Ōq!ō′xōʟ, this is the one, she has come down to the beach 107.9 (*ō-* she; *-ʟx* to the beach; *-t* perfect)

x·ix·iau amigā′t!ōm this one whom you met 185.12 (*a-* transitional; *m-* thou; *i-* him; *-gatq* to meet; *-am* completive)

aniā′waᵉ qiqiau′x ktcenxgā′lukʟ I killed that one who always went first 89.5 (*-waᵉ* to kill; *qiqiau′x* probably for *qiqiau′*; *k-* the one who; *tcen*—he me; *-xgako* to go about; *-ʟ* with suffix *-ako* by metathesis *-alukʟ*)

The simple forms occur generally in adjectival form.

nalᵉē′ma ẋak ōk!u′ltcin I will give her this fish head 183.7 (*nal-* I her to her; *-ᵉēm* to give food; *-a* future; *ōk!u′ltcin* fish head)

atciʟe′lᵉēm ikamō′kẋuk qō′ʟa ʟgē′wusẋ he gave a bone to that dog 187.12 (*atciʟel-* he him to it; *ikamō′kẋuk* bone; *ʟgē′wusẋ* dog)

kᵘca′la x·ik nē′mal up this river 220.2

In some cases I have found *tikc, tik, ʟik* instead of the same elements with the prefix *x·i*, but I am not certain whether in these cases the beginning of the word was not slurred over.

Apparently there is also a duplication of the terminal element in *-k*. At least this is a possible explanation of the form *x·ix·ē'kik*.

x·ix·ī'gik mkā'nax tcɛmā'xō this here is what will make you rich 218.1 (*m-* thou; *-kānax* chief, rich man; *tcɛm-* he thee; *a-* directive before *x;* *-x* to make; *-ō* future after *x*)

ē'kta tcīuwā'ya x·ix·ē'kik what can this one do! 134.25

iä! x·ix·ē'kik! oh, this (miserable) one! 41.10, 147.1

*tgā'ma*ᵉ *x·itē'kik* these are shot 213.20 (*tgā-* their; *-ma*ᵉ being shot)

To this form may belong the demonstratives *ō'kuk, yō'kuk, ya'ɣkuk, x·ix·ō'kuk, qiqō'k,* but all these seem to be demonstrative adverbs.

(*2*) ***Demonstrative Adverbs of Lower Chinook.*** These are very numerous and it is difficult to present them in a systematic way. One set corresponds strictly to the set described before. The forms expressing present have the element *x·-*, those expressing past *q-*. Both occur with the two vowels *-ī-* and *-ō-*, which, in this case, seem to express THIS and THAT. Their locative character is expressed by the suffixed locative element *gō*. Thus we find—

x·īgō	*x·ōgō*
qīgō	*qōgō*

a'lta ā'ʟō iau'a x·igō naʟxoa'p aʟgā'yax ilē'ē now they went thus to this place where they had dug up the ground 23.7 (*a'lta* now; *a-* transitional; *ʟ-* indefinite; *-ō* to go; *iau'a* here thus; *na-* place; *ʟxoa'p* to dig; *a-* transitional; *ʟg-* indefinite transitive subject; *-āy-* for *-i-* masculine object; *-a-* directive; *-x* to do; *ilē'ē* ground masc.)

x·īgō Nagaʟā'mat, gō tgā'kᵘʟil qō'ta-y-ē'ka here at GaʟĀ'mat is their custom thus 240.25 (*na-* place; *gō* there; *tgā'*-their; *-kᵘʟil* custom; *ē'ka* thus)

iā'xkēwa taʟ! x·ōk q!at aqā'nax nevertheless there I am loved 39.5 (*iā'xkēwa* there thus; *taʟ!* nevertheless; *q!at* to love; *a-* transitional; *-ān* me [accented *ā*]; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)

tc!a'a, qa'da x·ōgu nɛ'xax see! how I became here 178.8

a'lta ʟpil qigō ʟɛkᵘ nē'xax now it was red where it was broken 185.20 (*ʟpil* red; *ʟɛkᵘ* to break)

pāʟ ikā'pa qigō mā'ʟnē it was full of ice there seaward 44.24 (*pāʟ* full; *ikā'pa* ice; *mā'ʟnē* seaward)

aʟɛ'xɛlatcgux qigō nōpō'nɛmx he would arise when it was night 165.6

qōgu itcā'q!atxala ayā'xɛlax utcā'nix there the wedge was bad 161.8 (*i-* masculine; *-tcā-* feminine possessive; *-q!atxala* badness; *ayā'xɛlax* hers is on her; *utcā'nix* wedge)

a'ctōp! gō qōgō gitanō'kstx̣ t!ōɬ they entered that little house 29.14 (*a'ctō* they two go; *-p!* into; *gō* there; *gitanō'kstx̣* having their smallness)

A distinct series, continuing the idea IN THIS MANNER are *ya'kwa, yau'a, ē'wa, qēwa, ya'xkēwa.*

Related to these is the interrogative *qā'xēwa.* All of these contain the element *-wa.* They designate nearness and distance, but I am unable to tell the difference in their use, which is rather indefinite. According to their form *ya'kwa* (=*yak-wa*) probably belongs with the series designating position near the speaker, *yau'a* (=*yau-wa*) position near the person addressed. The form *ēwa* seems to correspond to the demonstrative position near the third person, while *ya'xkēwa* always refers back to a place previously designated: THUS JUST AT THAT PLACE.

iakwa' gōyē' ā'tcax here he did thus 65.21 (*gōyē'* thus; *ātc-* he her; *-ax* to do)

nēkct mō'ya iau'a do not go there! 185.17

nē'k·ikst ē'wa wē'wuɬē he looked there into the house 130.17 (*nē-* he, intransitive; *-k·i* designates lack of object; *-kst* to look; *wē'wuɬē* inside of house)

iā'xkēwa nē'xankō there (to the place pointed out) he ran 23.17

iā'xkēwa ayuqunā'ētix·t there (where he was shot) he fell down 62.22

The forms in *-wa* are used often to express the idea HERE—THERE:

ē'wa ē'nata, iau'a ē'natai here on this side,—there on that side 201.12

ia'kwa nō'ix ā'ēx̣at, iau'a ta'nuta nō'ix ā'ēx̣at here went the one (feminine); there to the other side went the other 75.14

But we find also forms in *-uk* used in the same way—

iō'kuk agā'yutk iqē'sqēs, ia'kwa ē'natai agā'yutk kā'sa-it here on one side she put blue-jay, there on the other robin 50.4

ɬā'yapc iakwa',—iō'kuk iā'mɛlk his foot there,—here his thigh 174.15

The same adverb is not often repeated to indicate different directions or places.

iā'ma iau'a mō'yima; näkct iau'a mai'ēmē iɬtā'yim only there (upstream) go; do not go there downstream 192.9

Generally repetition refers to the same places.

iau'a acgixa'lukctgux, iau'a acgixa'lukctgux here they two threw him down, here they two threw him down; i. e., they threw him down again and again 26.8

yauā' actik!ēlā'pχuitxē, yauā' actik!ēlā'pχuitxē there they turned over each other again and again 127.4

iā'koa-y-ēχt, ia'koa-y-ēχt kanā'mtɛma one here, one here, both; i. e., one in each hand 45.10 (see also 157.22)

As stated before, the forms in *-uk* seem to have adverbial meaning. Following are examples of their uses:

ō'kuk kɪlā'qēwam ikē'x imē'χanātē there (with that) shaman is thy soul 199.23 (*kɪlā'qēwam* one having a shaman's song; *i-* he; *-kē-* indicates absence of object; *-x* to do, to be; *-mē-* thy; *-kanatē* soul)

iō'kuk agā'yutk gō itcā'χɛmalap!ix· here she put him in her armpit 50.4 (*-tk* to put; *-kɛmalap!ix·* armpit)

aqā'nukct x·ix·ō'kuk some one looked at me here 30.8 (*-kct* to look)

lōnas yaχku'k ɪtxā'mama lōc may be our father is there 29.14 (*lōnas* may be; *-mama* father; *-c* to be)

tcintuwa'ᵉōmx qiqō'k antsauwī'p!ɛnā'nanma-itx tɛ'kχɛqʟ he comes to kill me when I always jump in my house 64.25 (*tc-* he; *n-* me; *t-* to come; *-waᵉ-* to kill; *-am* to arrive; *-x* habitually; *a-* transitional; *n-* I; *ts-* probably for *s-* both [feet]; *-auwī-* for *-ōn* into them [see § 9]; *-pɛn* to jump; *-ān* assimilated for *-āl* always [§ 8] *-a-itx* always [§ 31.10])

Quite isolated is the form *ia'xkati*, which appears with great frequency. The ending *-ti* is evidently adverbial, as is shown by the parallel Kathlamet form *gipā'tix·* THERE, and *nō'ʟ!katix·* FOR A LITTLE WHILE. It signifies the position near the third person, THERE.

iā'xkati mō'p!aya! enter there! 24.5

iā'zkatē ayō'ʟa-it there he stayed 76.14

Still another form, apparently related to the forms in *-uk*, is *ia'xkayuk* HERE.

ia'xkayuk ayō'yam here he arrived 64.24

ia'xkayuk nɪᵉɛltā'qɪa I shall leave it here 186.1

Related to this form may be *yukpā'* HERE and *yukpā't* TO THIS POINT HERE. These contain the locative suffix *-pa* AT, which is characteristic of Upper Chinook, but does not occur in Lower Chinook, while the ending *-t* is directive and related to the Upper Chinook *-ta* (see § 55).

yukpā' iā'maᵉ atcē'lax here he hit him (his shooting he did to him here) 62.22

yukpā' ayagɛltcē'mɛx·it here it hit him 153.22

yukpä't ʟā'yaqsō aqʟē'lax iʟā'ʟqta his hair was made that long (to here his hair someone made it on him its length) 156.17

yukpɛ't nɪɪʟē'ʟa-it ʟtcuq up to here he stood in (it) the water 225.8

It will be noticed that the element *iax* (*yaẋ*) occurs quite frequently in these demonstratives. As terminal element it is found in *x·ix·ō'yaẋ*, *gō'yax* and the interrogative *qā'xēyax*.

As initial element it occurs in *ya'ẋkuk*, *ia'ẋkayuk*, *ia'xkēwa*, *ia'xkati*. It is undoubtedly identical with the terminal *yaẋ* of the Kathlamet demonstrative and with the first element in *ia'ẋka* HE ALONE, the third person masculine personal pronoun of Lower Chinook.

(*3*) ***Demonstrative Pronouns of Kathlamet.*** In Kathlamet and Wishram, the distinction of visible and invisible does not occur and the structure of the demonstratives is quite different. In both Kathlamet and Wishram, the demonstrative expressing location near the first person has a prefix (which in Kathlamet has the same form for masculine and feminine), while all the other genders are designated by their characteristic sounds. In Wishram this prefix is invariable. The location near the second and third persons is expressed in both dialects by invariable suffixes.

Kathlamet

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person . . .	*tayaẋ*	*tawā'ẋ*	ʟaʟā'ẋ
Near 2d person . . .	*yā'ẋauē*	*ā'ẋauē*	ʟā'ẋauē
Near 3d person . . .	*yax·ī'(yaẋ)*	*wax·ī'(yaẋ)*	ʟax·ī'(yaẋ)
	Dual	Plural	Plural, persons
Near 1st person . . .	*ctactā'ẋ*	*tatā'ẋ*	ʟaʟā'ikc tatā'ikc
Near 2d person . . .	*ctā'ẋauē*	*tā'ẋauē*	(?)
Near 3d person . . .	*ctax·ī'(yaẋ)*	*tax·ī'(yaẋ)*	ʟa-itci ta-itci

Besides these forms, Kathlamet has two very short forms, *gi* and *tau*. Both are used for positions corresponding to HERE, but their exact relationship has not been determined. They occur with all genders and numbers. The form *tau* is undoubtedly identical with the Wishram *dau*, which characterizes the first and second persons as prefix and suffix.

its!ā'ts!emôm gi ā'mēqct her sweetness this thy louse (=your louse here is sweet) 118.12 (Kathlamet Texts)

ʟā'ema gi ʟe'tcin ʟä'tgatcẋ only this stump drifts down 92.5 (*ibid.*)

qātcqī k!ā igō'xoax gi tgu'nat? why have these salmon disappeared? (why nothing became these salmon?) 47.8 (*ibid.*)

qā'mta iō'ya tau igîẋatk!oā'mam? where went he who came home? 162.7 (*ibid.*)

ikʟotā'mit tau aqagē'lak this woman carried him away 163.1 (*ibid.*)

The element *gi* appears also presumably in *tānki* SOMETHING.

(*4*) ***Demonstrative Adverbs of Kathlamet.*** The two most frequent forms of the demonstrative adverbs in Kathlamet are

gipā' here *gōpā'* there

both compounds of demonstrative stems and the locative suffix *-pa*.

gipā' gi txā'qcqɛmapa ayamɛlgē'tga here to these our wedges I shall put you 114.13 (Kathlamet Texts) (*txā-* our; *-qcqɛm* wedge; *-ma* plural; *-pa* to; *ayamɛl-* I to thee; *-gi-* indicates absence of object; *-tk* to put; *-a* future)

gipā' cxq!oā'ɪqōx here the two were grown together 17.1 (*ibid.*)

icxē'la-îtx kō'pa they stayed there 10.6 (*ibid.*)

kōpa' igix̣î'qo-îtq then he awoke 21.8 (*ibid.*)

imō'lak gōpā' cā'xalîx an elk is up there 71.5 (*ibid.*)

In place of *gipā'* the stronger form *gipā'tîx·* is found.

gipā'tîx· siā'x̣ôstpa right here on his face 76.14 (*ibid.*)

Compare with this form—

iLō'yam ēlx̣padîx they arrived in that land 17.14 (*ibid.*)

iōquē'wulx̣t iqā'mɛnoqpā'tîx· he climbed a pine there 11.14 (*ibid.*)

Corresponding to the forms *yukpɛ't, yukpɛ'tɛma,* in Lower Chinook, we find here *gipɛ't, gipɛ'tɛmax.*

gipɛ't ā'yaɪqt up to here its thickness 189.5 (*ibid.*)

ɪx̣p!ōctɛmtîx̣ ɪɛ'ɪaqcō gipɛ'tɛmax braided was his hair to here 131.10 (*ibid.*)

Often *yax·ī'* (masc. dem. 3d person) is used as an adverb:

yax̣ī' aqaɪā'x there (was) the sun 109.3

ya'x̣i mā'ɪnîx̣ igē'kta there seaward he ran 172.11

The series of forms of Lower Chinook ending in *-wa* is represented by *ā'koa, ē'wa.*

iqcxē'ɪau ā'koa itcō'xoa here thus he made her a monster 224.3 (*ibid.*) (*iqcxē'ɪau* monster; *itcō'-* he her)

ɪān ɪax̣i ā'kua ɪxō'la? who is that here thus talking? 51.9 (*ibid.*) (*ɪān* who; *ɪxō-* it by itself)

ictō'ɪxa ē'wa ikak!ō'ɪîtx̣ the two went down there thus to the lake 18.95 (*ibid.*)

It is characteristic of Upper Chinook that these forms occur often with distributive endings and with directive *-ta.*

mâkct ä'wimax itcā'ɪqtax two these thus their length 189.4 (*ibid.*) (*mâkct* two; *itcā'-* her; *-ɪqtax* length)

Another adverb is found in this dialect, *tē'ka* THUS HERE.

tē'ka gi atxōqō'ya! here we will sleep! 109.4 (*ibid.*)

tē'ka atx̣k!ax̣yā'wulalɛma here we will play! 167.17 (*ibid.*)

(*5*) ***Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs in Wishram (by E. Sapir).***

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person . . .	*da'uya(x)* *da'ya(x)*	*da'ua(x)* *da'wa(x)*	*da'uła(x)* *da'ła(x)*
Near 2d person . . .	*ya'xdau* *ya'xda(x)*	*a'xdau* *a'xda(x)*	*ła'xdau* *ła'xda(x)*
Near 3d person . . .	*ya'ẋia(x)*	*a'ẋia(x)*	*ła'ẋia(x)*
Near 3d person (formed from *ya'xdau*) . . .	*yakā'xdau*	*akā'xdau*	*łakā'xdau*

	Dual	Plural	Plural, persons
Near 1st person . . .	*da'ucda(x)* *da'cda(x)*	*da'uda(x)* *da'da(x)*	*da'uda-itc* *da'da-itc* *da'(u)ła-itc* *da'(u)a-itc*
Near 2d person . . .	*cda'xdau* *cda'xda(x)*	*da'xdau* *da'xda(x)*	*da'xdauaitc* *ła'xdauaitc* *a'xdauaitc*
Near 3d person . . .	*cda'ẋia(x)*	*da'ẋia(x)*	*da'ẋiaitc* *ła'ẋiaitc* *a'ẋiaitc*
Near 3d person (formed from *ya'xdau*) . . .	*cdakā'xdau*	*dakā'xdau*	*dakā'xdauaitc* *łakā'xdauaitc* *akā'xdauaitc*

NOTE.—It is somewhat doubtful whether *ya'xdau* should be so read or as *ya'ẋdau*. (*x*) in personal and demonstrative pronouns is deictic in value.

-ka may be added to demonstratives in *-itc*.

Elements *-t!a* and *-t!ikc* are perhaps "diminutive" forms of demonstrative pronominal stem *da* THIS and personal plural *-dikc*.

Following is a list of the demonstrative adverbs of the Wishram dialect:

	Locative	up to	towards, on . . . side
Stem *da(u)*	*da'ba* here	*dapt*	*dabā't* little ways further on
Stem *kwô*	*kwô'ba* there	*kwôpt*	*kwôbā't*
Stem *iaẋi*	(*yax da'ba* 48.16)[1] *ia'ẋiba* yonder *ia'ẋi* away, off	*ya'ẋpt*	*iaẋā't* further on
Stem *di*	*di'ka* here (*dika dabā'* 92.11)	(*-pt* also in *qa'n t c i p t* how long?)	*di'gat* (18.17)

[1] References in the rest of this section relate to E. Sapir, Wishram Texts (vol. II, Publication Amer. Ethnolog. Society).

	Locative	towards, on . . . side
Stem *gi*		*gi'gat* (18.17)
	i'wa thus, there	*i'wat* to you (place) (106.22) *iwa'tka* (158.24)

NOTE.—Compounded with *gi* are also *da'ngi* SOMETHING; *qa'tgi* SOMEHOW; *qxa'matgi* SOMEWHERE (96.11).

Related to *di'ka* and *di'gad* is perhaps *digu'tcix* PERHAPS (96.17); also *di'wi* LIKE.

In *-x̣i* we have, besides *ya'x̣i*, also (*aga*) *du'x̣i* OH, WELL! (60.4).

NOTE.—*Ya'x̣a* INDEED (also in *quct i'ax̣a* AS IT TURNED OUT); *au* (perhaps = *aw'*, *a'wa*, and related to Chinook *ya'wa*) in *da'n au ayamlu'da* WHAT, PRAY, SHALL I GIVE YOU? (154.6); *yax̣a'wa* HOWEVER.

Note also *kwô'bix̣ix̣* RIGHT THERE, NOT VERY FAR.

-a'dix̣ forms: *a'ngadix̣* LONG AGO; *ix̣tka'dix̣* (192.2); *ina'tkadix̣* (192.5).

With stem *dau*: *kwô'dau* AND; *da'ukwa* JUST AS BEFORE; *qxi'dau* THUS.

§ 45. *Independent Personal Pronoun*

The independent personal pronoun is formed from the objective pronoun by means of a number of suffixes of unknown origin and the terminal suffix *-ka* ONLY.

naika I	*ntaika* we two (exclusive)	*ntcaika* we (exclusive)
maika thou	*txaika* we two (inclusive)	*lxaika* we (inclusive)
ia'xka he	*mtaika* your two selves	*mcaika* ye
a'xka she	*cta'xka* their two selves	
ʟa'ska it		*ta'ska* they

These forms may also be interpreted as intransitive verbs. Another emphatic form, apparently more verbal in character, is—

nā'mka I alone
mā'mka thou alone, etc.

A peculiar form *mī'ca* YOU occurs in the texts (23.1)

In the Kathlamet dialect an emphatic form *na'yax* I, *ma'yax* thou (Kathlamet Texts 114.11) is found, which occurs also in Wishram.

The forms for I, THOU, etc., ALONE are:

na'ēma I alone	*txa'ēma* we alone 134.16

These correspond to Wishram forms recorded by Sapir:

na'-ima I alone	*ła'imadikc, da'-imadikc, a'-imadikc* they alone
ma'-ima thou alone	
lxa'-imadikc we (incl.) alone	

Besides these, Doctor Sapir has recorded in Wishram the following:

Shortest form:

na(x) I	*ya(x)* he	*dá'-itc* they
		la'-ítc they (Wishram Texts 48.4)
		a'-itc they

Inclusive:

nai'tɬa I too	*ya'x̣tɬa* he too	*la'-itɬikc* they too
lxai'tɬikc we too		*da'-itɬikc* they too
		a'-itɬikc they too

He remarks that the demonstratives of the third person (*ya'x̣ia*) seem morphologically parallel to first and second personal emphatic pronouns (*na'ya*); that the demonstrative element *-i-* is characteristic of the first and second persons, *-x̣-* of the third; as in

na-i-ka I	*ya-x̣-ka* he
na'-i-tɬa I too	*ya-x̣-tɬa* he too
na'-(i)-ya I	*ya'-x̣-ia* he

These elements *-i-* and *-x̣-* are probably identical with Chinook *-ī-* and *-x·*, *-x̣* in *x·ī'ɪa* and *x·ix·*, *x·ax̣*.

Particles (§§ 46-52)

§ 46. *Attribute Complements*

It is one of the most striking characteristics of the Chinook language that a few verbs of very indefinite meaning which require subjective and objective attribute complements are applied with great frequency. By far the greater number of these, and the most characteristic ones, are words that do not require pronominal prefixes. Many are clearly of onomatopoetic origin. In some cases it appears doubtful whether the words belong to the regular vocabulary of the language, or whether they are individual productions. This is true particularly when the words do not form part of the sentence, but appear rather as independent exclamations. Examples of this kind are the following:

oxuiwā'yul kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm they danced, kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm, 167.5 (here *kumm* indicates the noise of the feet of the dancers)

hômm, iguā'nat ēniɬā'kux hômm, I smell salmon 67.3

a'lta, pɛmm, tɛmōtsgā'nuks gō iā'yacqɬ now pemm, flies were about his mouth 72.22 (*pɛmm* indicates the noise of flies)

tcx, tcx, tcx, tcx, gō ɬkamelā'lɛq there was noise of footsteps (*tcx*) on the sand 75.3

In a number of cases onomatopoetic terms which undoubtedly belong to the regular vocabulary are used in the same manner:

tcx̣up, tcx̣up, tcx̣up, tcx̣up aLE'xax Lā'k!ēwax the torch flickered (literally, made *tcx̣up*) 50.24

L!äq, L!äq, L!äq, Lā'xa nē'xax iskē'px̣oa, out, out, out, out came a rabbit 113.6

These cases make it plausible that most terms of this kind belong to the regular vocabulary. The frequent use of such onomatopoetic words and the occurrence of new words of the same kind (such as *ti'ntin* CLOCK, WATCH, TIME; *tsi'ktsik* WAGON) suggest that in Chinook the power of forming new words by imitative sounds has been quite vigorous until recent times.

Examples of onomatopoetic words of this class are:

hē'hē to laugh	*tsEX* to break
hō'hō to cough	*tcx̣up* to flicker
pō to blow	*tcxoap* to gnaw
t!Eq to slap	*k!ut* to tear off
t!āk to break a piece out	*x̣wē* to blow
tō'tō to shake	*lEp* to boil
cix to rattle	*L!äq* to crackle
cāu low voice	*L!lEp* to go under water

It is difficult to say where, in this class of words, the purely onomatopoetic character ceases, and where a more indirect representation of the verbal idea by sound begins. I think a distinct auditory image of the idea expressed is found in the following words:

iū'L!l proud	*ku'lkul* light (of weight)
wāx to pour out	*k!ā* silent
pāL full	*q!am* lazy
tEmE'n clear	*q!uL* fast
tEll tired	*lō'lō* round
tc!pāk loud	*LEll* to disappear
gu'tgut exhausted	*LāX* to appear
gE'cgEc to drive	*LXoap* to dig

Most stems of this class occur both single and doubled, sometimes they are even repeated three or four times. Repetition indicates frequency of occurrence of the verbal idea; that is to say, it is distributive, referring to each single occurrence of the idea. We have—

wāx to pour out (blood) 68.1	*wā'xwax* to pour out (roots) 43.2
pō to blow once 66.25	*pō'pō* to blow repeatedly 129.20
tEll tired	*tE'lltEll* to be tired in all parts of the body
k!ut to tear off 89.25	*k!u'tk!ut* to tear to pieces 249.4

A few stems, however, occur in duplicated form only, probably on account of the character of the idea expressed, which always implies repetition. Such are—

hē'hē to laugh	*gu'tgut* exhausted
hō'hō to cough	*ku'lkul* light (of weight)
tō'tō to shake	*lōlō* round

Others do not occur in duplicated form, but take the distributive ending *-ma*. These are—

pāʟ full 39.1, distributive *pā'ʟma* 229.24
wuk! straight, real 24.12, distributive *wuk!ma* 107.20
cpɛq gray, distributive *cpɛ'qɛma*

Still others do not seem to undergo any change for the distributive.

tɛmɛ'n clean, empty	*k'·!ē* to disappear, nothing
tā'mɛnua to give up 61.18	*k!wac* afraid 90.5
tq!ēx to wish 129.27	*ʟ!ap* to find 140.1, 138.15
stāq! war 272.5	

On the whole, it would seem that those least onomatopoetic in character lack the doubled distributive.

In a few cases the doubled form has acquired a distinctive significance.

k!wan hopeful 134.8	*k!wa'nk!wan* glad 38.20
lāx sideways 267.3	*lā'xlax* to deceive 65.19, to rock 129.2

The most common verbal stem which is used in connection with these attributes is *-x* TO BE, TO BECOME, TO DO, TO MAKE. *-ō(-ī?)*, the general verb for motion, is sometimes used with stems signifying motion. It seems difficult to classify these words, except those that clearly express noises. Among a total of 126 words of this class, 44 express activities or processes accompanied by noises; 16 are decidedly imitative; 22 designate states of the mind or body which may be expressed by imitative sounds, such as cold, tired, fear; 7 are terms of color; 45 express miscellaneous concepts, but some of these may also be considered as imitative. It seems likely that, in a language in which onomatopoetic terms are numerous, the frequent use of the association between sound and concept will, in its turn, increase the readiness with which other similar associations are established, so that, to the mind of the Chinook Indian, words may be sound-pictures which to our unaccustomed ear have no such value. I have found that, as my studies of this language progressed, the feeling for the sound-value of words like *wāx* TO POUR, *k'·!ē* NOTH-

ING, *k!ômm* SILENCE, *lō* CALM, *pā'ᵉpāᵉ* TO DIVIDE, increased steadily. For this reason I believe that many words of the miscellaneous class conveyed sound-associations to the mind of the Chinook Indian.

It will be noticed that verbs of motion and transitive verbs, except such as are accompanied by decided noises, are almost absent from the list of these words.

In quite a number of cases these words seem to be rather adverbs than attribute complements:

cā'ucau naxayi'llkᵘlē she told him in a low voice 40.21
luẋ nulā'tax·it it fell down broken 49.2
lkᴇ'plkᴇp atciō'cgam it took it in its talons 137.15

If I remember rightly the cadence of the spoken sentence, these words must rather be considered as standing alone, the auxiliary verb *-x* being omitted.

LIST OF ATTRIBUTE COMPLEMENTS

(1) Actions and processes accompanied by noises.

(*wā* a noise under water 217.15)
uhū' noise of an arrow striking a body 49.3
(*hᴇmm* noise of wind 41.25)
hômm smell 67.2
(*hä* noise of an arrow breaking 49.4)
hē'hē to laugh 12.22
hō'hō to cough
pᴇmm noise of flying 72.22
pō to blow 66.25; *pō'pō* 129.20
pâ, pâ, pâ 175.3
(*dᴇll* noise of bursting 49.19, noise of bear spirit 217.14)
t!ᴇq to slap 40.25; *tᴇ'qtᴇq* 26.8
tō'tō to shake 194.1
tumm noise of fire 45.16, noise of bear spirit 217.13
tᴇmm noise of feet 133.17
t!āk to break a piece out of something
cix noise of rattles 22.5
cᴇll noise of rattles on a blanket 61.22; *ci'llcill* rattling of breath of one choking 150.7
cā'ca to break, to wreck 198.7
cāu low voice 162.11; *cā'ucau* 40.21
cẋẋ noise of flying birds 137.14
ts!ᴇx (*tc!ᴇx, tc!ux, tsᴇx*) to break a piece of wood, antlers, etc., with hands 60.7; to split wood 27.2; sinews 138.19; roots 95.14 (not used for splitting planks out of trees); to skin a bird 136.23; to bark a tree 164.16; *ts!ᴇ'xts!ᴇx* 45.19; *nats!ᴇ'x* a piece of flint flaked off 69.3

tcẋup, tcẋɛp to extinguish 51.2, to flicker 50.24; *tcẋɛ'ptcẋɛp* 28.8
tcx noise of footsteps on sand 75.3
tcxoa'p to gnaw; *tcxoa'ptcxoap* 175.23
gumm a noise under water 217.16
gōm noise of something heavy falling down 27.9
kumm noise of dancing 167.5
gɛ'cgɛc to drive 15.5
k!ut to tear off 89.25; *k!u'tk!ut* to clear up (sky) 249.4
ku'tcẋä to sneeze 64.24
qull noise of falling objects 67.1, noise of heels striking the ground 65.13
q!a'lq!al to beat time
q!ē door creaks 66.14
xx to blow 113.20
ẋā'ẋa to rub 65.9
ẋwē to blow nose 113.21, to blow on water before drinking 213.13
ʟɛkᵘ to break 165.19; *ʟɛ'kʟɛk* 68.16
ʟɛ'kʟɛk to burrow 95.13
ʟɛx to split (planks) 27.1, to burst 204.4; *ʟ!ɛ'xʟ!ɛx* to tear 145.20
ʟɛ'xʟɛx noise of scratching 153.7
ʟap noise of shooting 272.20
ʟuẋ to come out 49.2, 201.1; *ʟu'ẋʟuẋ* to pull out (of ground) 138.9
ʟkɛ'pʟkɛp to grasp in talons 137.15
ʟk!ōp to squeeze 9.8; *ʟk!ō'pʟk!ōp* with eyes run out 29.20
ʟq!ōp to cut 114.3
ʟxoa'p to dig 23.5; *ʟxoa'pʟxoap* 115.15
ʟ!ʟ! to fitter 177.15
ʟ!ɛq to hit, to strike 156.23
ʟ!äq, ʟ!äx to crackle 38.1, 185.8
ʟ!lɛp under water 14.8

(2) Descriptive words.

pāʟ full 39.1; *pā'ʟma* 229.24
wāx to pour out 68.1, to take across river in canoe 23.24; *wā'xwax* 43.2
wāx to light, set afire 28.2, to bloom 165.26
k!ômm no noise
k!ā'ya no, none
k!ē no 128.5, nothing 14.1, to disappear 128.28
q!ɛl strong; *q!ɛ'lq!ɛl* hard, 139.8, too difficult 204.12
tɛmɛ'n empty, clean
tɛ'tɛ to stop doing something
tuwā'x to light, shine 12.1 (see *wāx*)
ku'llkull light of weight 199.9
k!am, k!ɛm no, none 37.15
lɛp to boil 173.1

lō'lō round 186.23
ʟ!āk spread out 178.7
ʟ!mɛn to break into small pieces, soft 130.4; *ʟ!mɛ'nʟ!mɛn* 17.9

(3) Words expressing states of mind and body.

iū'ʟ!l proud 93.16
pɛt quiet 177.24
p!alā' quietly, safe 198.4
tɛll, täl tired 62.14; *tɛ'lltɛll* tired all over (= rheumatism)
tq!ēx to like 129.27
t!ayā' well, healthy 165.21
tsɛs cold 41.9
tsɛ'ẋtsɛẋ unwell, feeling uncomfortable
tcxap to hesitate 27.15
q!at to love 41.6
xāx to notice, observe 75.17
ʟɛk!, ʟäk! weak 212.21
tc!ē'ktc!ēk almost choked 151.1
lāx lonesome 22.3
gu'tgut exhausted
k!ɛx cloyed 46.24; *k!ɛ'xk!ɛx* grease smell 137.7
k!ā silent 37.9, 129.2
k!wan hopeful 134.8; *k!wa'nk!wan* glad 38.20
k!wac afraid 211.15
k!cō stiff in joints
q!am lazy 138.4
ʟ!ō'ya stingy (?) 139.11
ʟ!â to fear 212.11
ʟ!pāq to recover 196.22

(4) Color-terms.

ʟē'ɛl black 25.11
k!äs yellow
cpeq gray (dry?) 109.10
tk!ōp white 124.25
ptcîx green 30.21
ʟpîl red 185.20
ts!ɛmm variegated

(5) Miscellaneous words.

iā'c to let alone 187.13
uẋ to take a chance
wuk! straight 24.12; *wuk!ɛma'* 107.20
pɛ'nka afoot 217.8, 107.6
pā'nic to give secretly payment to a shaman 200.7
pā^{ɛ} to divide; *pā'*^{ɛ}*pa*^{ɛ} 248.4
pāx unlucky 264.13

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pōx̣ foggy 37.4
puq̣ lukewarm
pō'xoiē to make a mistake
mEL! wet 37.5
manē'x to learn a secret 200.10
tā'mEnua to give up 61.18
tkE'ltkEl dull
tk!ē to sit looking on
t!ā'nuwa to exchange 228.8
nEkō to keep, to retain 277.14
stāq! war, attack 272.5
stuq̣ to untie, to unwrap 135.13; *stu'x̣stuq̣* 116.10
(*tctāx̣* around a point)
tsk!Es to stoop
tc!pāk strongly 164.9, 110.1
k!au to tie 123.19; *k!au'k!au* 118.6
qoä't reaching 48.6, high water 198.24
quL to hang, to fish with gaff-hook 27.16, to put on garment, to dress 136.23
q!E'cq!Ec dry 14.19 (= thirsty) 21.1
(*q!oa'p* near 40.9)
q!ul low water 198.26
q!uL fast; *q!uL ē'cgam* hold fast 44.15 (see *quL*)
x̣uē't half full 166.8
x̣ōp streaming
lāx sideways 267.3, afternoon 63.18, to miss 13.19; *lā'xlax* to rock 129.2, to deceive 65.19
lu'x̣luq̣ slick
lu'x̣pamē adultery
LEx to sit still
LāQ to step aside 146.14; to turn 137.12, 63.4; to cut off, to fall off 154.28, 194.1; to take out 65.11; *Lā'qLāQ* zigzag, also plural for the other meanings
LāX to appear, become visible 23.13; *Lā'xLax* to emerge
LēX· to cohabit 228.16; *Lē'x·LēX·* to prepare corpse for burial 253.3
Lō calm 25.18
Luwā' freshet
L!ap to find 261.8
L!āp fitting 154.8

§ 47. *Adverbs*

The dividing line between attribute complements and a number of adverbs can not be drawn very definitely. I am particularly doubtful how *t!aya'* WELL should be classed, and a few others which are placed in parentheses in the preceding list.

A considerable number of temporal and modal adverbs occur, the latter expressing certainty, compulsion, intention, and a great variety of ideas which we express by auxiliary verbs or by separate clauses. These can not be derived from simpler forms. Such are:

ai'aq can [1]
xa'oxaL can not
qōi will
qē'xtcē without reaching the desired end
ka'ltas in vain, only
qā'doxuē must
atsuwa' probably
Lx may (implying uncertainty)
k!ōma perhaps
Lō'nas I don't know (expression of uncertainty)
pōc contrary to fact
pEt really
näkct not
na interrogative particle
Lēqs almost
qalā'tcx·ī hardly
ā'nqa(tē) already, before
a'lta now
ā'Lqē later on
kawa'tka soon
anā' sometimes
nau'i at once
lē, lē'lē a long time
q!astE'n for the first time
tcax for a while
wixt again
kulE'ts once more
alā'tēwa again in this manner
guā'nsEm always
wāx next day (*wux·ī'* to-morrow; *kawī'x·* early)
q!oā'p near
tc!pāk quickly
Lawā' slowly
(*ai'aq* quickly)
tx̣ul too much
maniq!ä' too much
t!ā'qea just like
ā'la even

[1] Evidently the original significance of this word is QUICKLY; for instance, *ai'aq nō'ya* (if you tell me to go) I GO QUICKLY, i. e., I can go.

§ 48. *Exhortative Particles*

A number of exhortative particles form a peculiar group of words. They are applied so regularly and seem to be so weak, that I do not quite like to class them with interjections. It would seem that the meanings conveyed by some of these have very nice shades. Examples are:

wuska a somewhat energetic request—now do let us make an end of it and—37.12
niɣua please, just try to 130.3
tcuɣ since this is so, do (or let us) 24.10
tayax oh, if he would! 22.4
hō'ntcin be quiet
tca! well! introducing a new idea
(*qā't!ōcɣem* look out!)
(*nau'itka* indeed!)
(*tgt!ō'kti* good!)

The last three of these hardly belong here. They are derivatives: *qā't!ōcɣem* is probably derived from *t!ō* WELL; *nau'itka*, perhaps from *nau'i* AT ONCE; *tgt!ō'kti*, from *t!ō* WELL and *-kta* THING.

§ 49. *Interjections*

The line between the last group of words and true interjections is very indefinite. As might be expected, the number of interjections in this language which has such strong onomatopoetic tendencies is considerable. Some of these are:

ā, â, ō oh!
adē' surprise 29.13
ē pity for hardships endured 187.19
nā pity 116.15
anā' pain, regret, sorrow, pity 22.4, 161.13
ahaha' pain 177.16
anā'x pity 153.8
hē call 12.2, indeed 38.22, 186.8
hē a long distance 28.3, 123.13
hō, hohō', ohō' surprise at the success of an action 24.3, 25.22, 67.14
ɬɣuä' disgust 46.26
haᵉō'm, haō' now I understand! 39.27, 100.23
nä disapproval 145.12
näq! contemptuous rejection of an offer 124.11
hohū' derisive rejection of a remark 23.25
ahā' ridicule, disbelief 166.23
ehehiū' derision 45.1

lE derision of weakness 60.14, 146.1
iä' reproach for foolishness 117.9
nāxaxax anger 186.16
tcxä that is nothing! 47.4
kuc good! 89.4 (also used by the Chehalis)
k!c oh! (?)

As mentioned before, many of the imitative attribute complements may be used as interjections. This may, indeed, be their original function. Such are *hEmm* NOISE OF WIND, *kumm* NOISE OF DANCING, *k!ômm* SILENCE. A few differ so much in form and use from the attribute complements, that I include them among the interjections:

ha'lElElElElE	noise of flight of an arrow 62.21
wu'lElElE	noise of flight of cormorants 77.16
wa'tsEtsEtsEtsEtsE	cry of bluejay 31.2, 157.25
qa'nawulEwulEwulEwulE	cry of gull 88.21
wō	bark of dog 23.9
wä	cry of child 185.24
hä	cry of a person weeping 118.8
wâūūū	low voice 162.3
kukuku	voice of bluejay after he had become a ghost 166.19

In this group belong also the burdens of songs, a few of which occur in the texts.

§ 50. *Conjunctions*

A number of invariable words perform the function of conjunctions. The meanings of a few of these are not quite certain. The most important are the following:

ka and, then (connecting sentences) 26.18
cka and, while (connecting sentences) 25.4
k!a and (connecting nouns)
tcx·ī a little while passed, then 37.4 (often following the conjunction *qiā'x* IF)
tcu or 276.1
tatc!a although it is so, still 44.4
taL! although I did not expect it, still 74.9
ā'oLEL although I did not intend to, still 13.3
takE then 135.6
a'lta now 135.5
taua'lta otherwise 134.8
manix when 253.14
qiā'x if 127.20 (*qē*, *qēc*?)

§ 51. *Adjectives*

Color-terms, the plural of small, the numerals from two to nine, and the indefinite numerals are used without pronominal prefixes. The color-terms were enumerated among the attribute complements, because they are generally used in that form. *gɛnɛ'm* SMALL 38.17 is used only for plurals. I have found very few cases only in which these words are clearly used as adjectives:

aqlō'cgam ptcix lɛ'lɛuwɛlklɛuwɛlk green mud was taken 30.21
lō'lo ikta something round 127.5

This is possibly due to the rarity of adjectives, except numerals and a few others in the texts. It would seem, however, that in most cases derivatives of these stems are used whenever the substantive or adjective is to be used, for instance:

ma'nix kā'ltac ilā'yuɬ!l klā'qēwam when a shaman only has pride 203.18

More often nouns with the prefix *k-* THE ONE WHO HAS (p. 579) are used to express adjectival ideas.

gē'ɬatc!a a sick one (the one who has its sickness) 196.14

The cardinal and indefinite numerals of this class are:

môkct two	*si'namôkct* seven	*ka'nauwē* all
ɬōn three	*kstô'xkin* eight	*kapê't* enough
la'kit four	*kuï'tst* nine	*qāmx* part
qui'nɛm five	*tcä* several	*mank* few
tɛ'xɛm six		

All the cardinal numbers of this group when used as distributives take the suffix *-mtga;* when used as adverbs, they take the adverbial suffix *-ē*. The ordinals are formed by the third person pronominal prefix and the possessive form; for instance, *ēla'lōn* ITS THIRD ONE (m.) 217.21, *alā'lōn* (f.) 211.20; and from these, again, ordinal adverbs, *ē'lalōnē* THE THIRD TIME 134.23. When counting human beings, all these numerals (cardinals as well as indefinite) take the prefix *a-* and the plural suffix *-kc*. *môkct* TWO may also take the dual prefix *c-*.

To the groups of indefinite numerals belongs the peculiar form *kanɛm* EACH, ALL, TOGETHER, which occurs alone only in its distributive form *kanā'mtgɛma* 157.23, while generally it appears as a prefix of numerals: *kanɛmqoā'nɛm* FIVE TOGETHER 201.22, *ɬkanɛmqoa'nɛmiks* 176.8. With *môkct* TWO it seems to lose its *m:* *skanasmôkst* BOTH 76.14. In this form it appears also in *ka'nawē* ALL.

§ 52. *Adverbs Derived from Intransitive Verbs*

Particles used as adverbs have been mentioned before. It has also been stated that numeral adverbs are formed from both ordinal and cardinal numbers by the suffix *-ē*. This is also used with intransitive verbs, the adverb being formed from the masculine third person singular.

iū'ʟqat it is long; *iū'ʟqtē* long
ē'nata the one on the other side; *ē'natai* on the other side

Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism (§§ 53-54)

§ 53. *Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)*

Very characteristic of Wishram, as also without doubt of all other Chinookan dialects, is a series of changes in the manner, and to some extent in the place, of articulation of many of the consonants, in order to express diminutive and augmentative ideas in the words affected. This peculiar process of "consonantal ablaut," though perhaps most abundantly illustrated in the case of the noun, is exemplified in all parts of speech, so that it has almost as much of a rhetorical as of a purely grammatical character. Of the two series of consonantic changes referred to, that bringing about the addition to the meaning of the word of a diminutive idea is by far the more common, an actual change to augmentative consonantism hardly being found outside of the noun. The main facts of consonantic change may be briefly stated thus: To express the diminutive, non-fortis stopped consonants become fortis, the velars at the same time becoming back-palatals (the treatment of velar stops, however, seems to be somewhat irregular); *c* and its affricative developments *tc* and *tc!* become *s*, *ts*, and *ts!* (*s* seems sometimes to be still further "diminutivized" to *ts*, *ts* to *ts!*, so that *c*, *s*, *ts*, *ts!* may be considered as representing a scale of diminishing values); *x* becomes *x̣*, in analogy to the change of velar stops to back-palatal stops just noted; other consonants remain unmodified. To express the augmentative, fortis consonants become non-fortis (generally sonant) stops, no change taking place of back-palatal to velar; *s*, *ts*, and *ts!* become respectively *c*, *tc*, and *tc!* (in some few cases *ts* and *tc* affricatives become *dj*, pronounced as in English judge, this sound not being otherwise known to occur in Wishram); other consonants remain unmodified.

The following table of consonantic changes will best make the matter clear:

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
b, p	*p!*	(*b*)
d, t	*t!*	(*d*)
g, k	*k!*	(*g*)
ġ, q	*k!*, (*g, k*)	(*ġ*)
qx	*kx̣*	(*qx*)
q!	*k!*, (*kx̣*)	*ġ*
p!	(*p!*)	*b*
t!	(*t!*)	*d*
k!	(*k!*)	*g*
c	*s, ts*	(*c*)
tc	*ts*	(*tc*), (?) *dj*
tc!	*ts!*	(*tc!*), *dj*
s	(*s*)	*c*
ts	(*ts*), *ts!*	*tc, dj*
ts!	(*ts!*)	*tc!*, (?) *dj*
x	*x̣*	(*x*)
x̣	(*x̣*)	(?) *x*

On the whole, there is a distinct tendency to have all the consonants of a word bear a consistent diminutive or augmentative coloring, though absolute concord in this regard is by no means always observed. In general it may be said that *c* and *s* sounds are most easily varied in accordance with our rule. Final non-affricative stops seem incapable of change. It often happens that the normal form of a word is itself partly diminutive in form owing to its meaning; in such cases the form may be still further "diminutivized" if it is desired to give the word a more than ordinarily diminutive force. Thus *-k!ac-* in *il-k!a'c-kac* CHILD is evidently a semi-diminutive form of the stem-syllable *-kac;* LITTLE CHILD, BABY appears in more pronouncedly diminutive form as *ilk!a'skas* (Wishram Texts 176.3).

The following table of body-part nouns will serve as a set of examples of diminutive and augmentative forms. The diminutives would naturally refer to the body-parts of a tiny child, the augmentatives to those of an abnormally large being, as a giant.

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
i-p!a'qxa flat-headedness (dim.)		*i-ba'qxa*
i-gᴇ'tc nose (aug.)	*i-k!ᴇ'tc*	
i'l-pc foot	*i'l-ps*	

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
i-qxwi't leg	*i-khwi't*	
a-q!o'xɬ knee	*a-k!u'ɤɬ*	*a-go'xɬ*
a-mE'luqtan cheek	*a-mE'luk!tan*	
i-mELEXtk!u'lamat tongue		*i-mELEXtgu'lamat*
i-mî'ct lips	*i-mî'st*	
i-kᵘcɤa't mouth	*i-k!ᵘsɤa't*	
wa'-kcEn finger	*wa'-ksLn*	
is-qxu's eyes (dim.)		*ic-qxu'c*
id-mE'qco face-hair	*id-mE'kso*	
i-k!wa'yat crown of head		*i-gwa'yat*
a-tckE'n shoulder	*a-tsk!E'n*	
wa-qxa'tc breast	*wa-kɤa'ts*[1]	
i-kɤa'tc tooth	*i-k!a'ts*	
i-q!a'qctaq head		*i-ga'qctaq*
ic-k!a'lkal hip-joints	*is-k!a'lkal*	*ic-ga'lkal*
is-q!wâ'gwôst jaws (dim.)	*is-k!wa'gwast*	
a-mu'q!wal paunch, stomach		*a-mu'gwal*

Examples of other than body-part nouns are:

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
it-q!u'tcu bones	*it-q!uts'iê'lxlEm* dog (literally, eater of small bones)	
i-tc!i'au snake	*i-ts!i'au*	*i-dji'au*
i-tsi'ktsik wagon (dim.)	*is-ts!i'ktsik* buggy	*i-dji'kdjik* heavy truck
i-cgi'lukc wolf (aug.)	*il-sk!i'luks* new-born wolf cub (Wishram Texts 56.30)	
da-ga'c yellow	*a-qx-k!î'c* gold	
i-cga'n cedar board	*wa-ska'n* box *wa'-tsk!un* cup	
i-k!a'lamat stone		*i-ga'lamat*
a-k!a'munaq fir		*a-ga'munaq*
il-k!a'ckac child (dim.)	*il-k!a'skas*	
a-t!u'-gagilak good, strong woman		*a-du'-gagilak* strapping big woman

[1] Cf. *wa-q!a'tc* THORN, dim. *wa-kɤa'ts* (Wishram Texts, p. 26.1)

In these lists, (dim.) and (aug.) mean that the words so designated are wholly or partly diminutive or augmentative in consonantism owing to their primary significance. In *i-p!a'qxa*, for instance, the diminutive notion implied by *p!* is easily understood if we remember that head-flattening is associated with infancy. In some cases a consonant change involves or is accompanied by a vocalic change; it seems that the change of *a* to *u* or *ɛ* has in itself more or less diminutive force (cf. *wa'-tsk!un* from *wa-ska'n* with *iła-k!ô'its* VERY LITTLE [Wishram Texts 176.3] ordinarily *-k!aits* SMALL). The case of *i-cga'n* as compared with *wa-ska'n* and *wa'-tsk!un* illustrates the fact that the diminutive form of a noun often has a specialized meaning of its own. A few more examples are:

Normal	Diminutive
i-tc!î'nôn eagle	*il-ts!î'nôn* bird
i-tc!i'laq cricket	*i-ts!i'laq* grasshopper
i-q!apca'lwac turtle	*is-k!a'psalwas* lock (of door)
a-tca'la grindstone	*a-tsa'la* file

It will be observed that several nouns on becoming diminutive in form at the same time change to a more suitable gender, masculines often becoming feminines (e. g., *wa-ska'n*), neuters (e. g., *il-sk!i'luks*), or diminutive duals in *is-* (e. g., *is-k!a'psalwas*). Most examples of diminutives and augmentatives hitherto given have been formed from nouns that in themselves have no necessary diminutive or augmentative force. Other examples than those already given of words with inherent diminutive force, and hence with at least partial diminutive consonantism, follow:

a-k!u'ksk!uks ankle
a-p!u'ẋp!uẋ elbow-joint
i-p!u'ẋc cotton-tailed rabbit
a-t!antsa crow (contrast *i-cka'lax* RAVEN)
i-sk!u'lya coyote (? cf. *i-cgilukc* WOLF)
a-gu'sgus chipmunk
a-p!una'tsɛktsɛk mosquito (? cf. *-bɛna* JUMP)
is-ga'k!aps hat
i-k!a'its smallness (contrast *-gail* BIGNESS)
i-k!a'stila crab
il-ẋan (somebody's) child
i-sk!wô'latsîntsîn swallow
wa-tsk!ɛ'nlẋ nit

Particularly instructive as indicating a live feeling for diminutive consonantism are such words as *a-lik!u'k* CHICKEN and *a-lap!u's* CAT borrowed from Chinook jargon (*p* in *-pus* would not be consistent

with diminutive *s*). It is perhaps not too far-fetched to recognize augmentative consonantism in the following nouns:

i-ga'nuk beaver
i-gu'nat Chinook salmon (contrast *wa-tsu'iha* BLUE-BLACK SALMON)
i-cɛ'lqcɛlq porcupine
ic-ga'kwal eel
i-du'iha buffalo
ic-kcku'ct testicles (contrast *is-qxu's* EYES)
i-gu'cax sky
ic-gwô'lala gun
wa'-itc tail of mammal
ic-li'ct fish-tail (contrast *is-p!i'ost* TAIL OF BULB, DRIED FISH)

It sometimes happens that a change to diminutive consonantism implies not so much the diminutiveness of the object referred to as a sense of endearment. This seems particularly true in the case of certain terms of relationship:

Non-diminutive		Diminutive
-qcɛ-n / *ga'c-u* (vocative)	man's son's child	*-k!a'c-u-c* paternal grandfather
-gak-an / *ga'g-u* (vocative)	man's daughter's child	*-ga'k!-u-c* maternal grandfather
-gi-an	woman's son's child	*-k!i-c* paternal grandmother

Interesting as examples of augmentative consonantism are the names of Coyote's four sons, all of which are derived from words denoting body-parts of the salmon. The augmentative consonantism implies the lubberliness of Coyote's sons.

Body-parts of salmon	Names of Coyote's sons
i-k!la'tcin salmon-head gristle	*Sipa'-glatsin* Big Gristle (Wishram Texts 66.5)
i-ksa'lk!uts backbone of fish	*Sipa'-ksalguts* Big Backbone (Wishram Texts 66.6)
i-q!wi'nan fin	*Sapa'-gwinan* Big Fin (Wishram Texts 66.7)
a-k!a'tkᵘtgwax adipose fin (? better *-q!a'tkᵘtgwax*)	*Sapag-a'tkᵘtgwax* Big Adipose Fin (Wishram Texts 66.8)

As has already been remarked, the noun is not the only part of speech that illustrates the consonantal play here discussed. Adverbs and particle verbs of appropriate meaning sometimes show diminutive consonantism: *ts!u'nus* A LITTLE; *sāk!* TO WHISTLE; *sa'u sau* TO WHISPER (contrast Lower Chinook *cāu*); Lower Chinook *k!a* AND may be diminutive to *ka*. The diminutive form of a particle verb denotes a less intense state of being or activity than its correlative form. Sometimes its meaning is considerably specialized:

Non-diminutive	Diminutive
tcîc cold	(*ts!u'nus*) *a-itsā's* just (a little) cool (Wishram Texts 190.15)
ma'ca to spoil	*ma'sa* to be ashamed
gut to break up (earth) by digging	*k!u'tk!ut* to pluck
Possibly also—	
wax to pour out	*waẋ* to set on fire; to bloom
łq!up to cut	*łk!up* to shoot

The dual in *is-* is not the only example of a diminutive form of a purely grammatical element. The diminutive stem *-q!wa'lasup* FAST RUNNING occurs with possessive prefixes showing diminutive consonantism. Thus the normal elements *-tca-* HER and *-cda-* OF THEM TWO appear as *-tsa-* and *-st!a-* in *i-tsa-q!wa'lasup* SHE RUNS FAST (Wishram Texts 66.9) and *i-st!a-q!wa'lasup* THEY TWO RUN FAST (Wishram Texts 66.13). Similarly, in a song (Wishram Texts 94.23), where the reference is to *is-p!i'ast* TAIL OF BULB, a noun of diminutive form, the pronominal element *cd-* and the post-positive local element *-ba* AT appear as *st-* (? better *st!-*) and *-p!a*. Thus:

staimap!ā' giskip!i'ast it-alone-at the-my-tail

Finally the verb may show diminutive consonantism, partly in the stem itself, partly in its local and adverbial prefixes and suffixes, partly and most frequently in its pronominal prefixes. Examples of verb stems in distinctly diminutive form are not exactly common, but certain cases seem clear enough. Thus *gaqiułat!a'-ułẋ* HE WAS TOSSED UP (Wishram Texts 84.26) and *gatciułat!a'mɛlq* HE SWALLOWED HIM BY SUCKING HIM IN evidently contain a diminutive form of the verb stem *-łada-* TO THROW AWAY; *sîlu'skwax* IT TREMBLES (Wishram Texts 116.10) and *gasî'xîmk!na-uk^{u}atsk* HE LOOKED AROUND (Wishram Texts 30.6) show diminutive consonantism both in their stems (*-skw-* and *-k!na-u-*) and in their first incorporated pronominal objects (dual *s-*), the latter verb also in its adverbial suffix *-tsk*, doubtless the diminutive form of *-tck* UP FROM POSITION OF REST; *gats(s)altsgi'ma* HE LAID HER BELLY UP (Wishram Texts 56.27) shows diminutive consonantism in both stem (*-tsgi*) and incorporated pronominal subject(*-ts-*) and first object (dual *-s-*).

We have already given *-tsk* as an example of a derivative suffix with diminutive consonantism. Other such suffixes are *-p!a* SLIGHTLY OUT (OF POSITION) (from *-ba* OUT) in *ayulap!a'tcguẋwida* IT WILL TILT UP, literally, IT WILL SPONTANEOUSLY MOVE OUT UP FROM ITS SITTING

POSITION (Wishram Texts 184.10) and *tsu* (from *-tcu* DOWN) in *ililu'stsu* (WATER) MOVED DOWN INTO THE (HOLLOW PLACE). As examples of diminutive forms of local prefixes may be given *-k!ɛl-* (from *-gɛl-* DIRECTED TOWARD) in *ga-tssi'k!ɛluṭk* HE LOOKED AT HIM and its reflexive correlative *-ẋɛl-* (from *-xɛl*) in *gasi'ẋɛluṭk* HE LOOKED; *-sk!ɛm-* UNDER in *iniask!ɛmła'datcu* I THREW IT DOWN UNDER HER is doubtless diminutive to *-gɛm-* NEXT TO (cf. *-tcu* and *-s-tsu* ABOVE).

The only examples of diminutive consonantism in the pronominal prefixes of verb forms occur in the case of *ts* (for *tc*, third person masculine subject transitive) and *s* (for *c*, third person dual subject intransitive and transitive and object transitive). Whenever the object of the transitive verb (or the apparent subject, really first object, of the "half-transitive" verb) is diminutive in form, the pronominal prefixes *tc* and *c* appear as *ts* and *s;* the *ts* by no means implies the diminutive character of the transitive subject. Examples are: *ī'wi gatssu'x isiê'nqxôq* HE LOOKED AT HIS FISH-LINE (Wishram Texts 140.28), where the incorporated pronominal dual element *-s-* of *gatssu'x* refers to the diminutive dual object *is-iê'-nqxôq* HIS FISH-LINE, while the pronominal subject *-ts-* HE agrees with the object in diminutive consonantism; *gałksu'kłam* (*-łks-* always appears for *-skł-*) THE TWO (WOMEN) CAME HOME WITH THE (BABY) (Wishram Texts 2.12), the diminutive dual *-s-* referring to the grown-up women, not to the baby; *gasɛngatk!agwā'x gas ktênak!wā'st* IT-WAVES-FREELY-OVER-ME-MY-FEATHERED-CLOAK (Wishram Texts 142.5), where the first object *-s-* of the half-transitive verb refers to the diminutive dual noun *s-tênak!wā'st* (SMALL) FEATHERED CLOAK. Particularly noteworthy in this connection is the idiomatic use of a diminutive dual object *-s-* referring to an implied, unexpressed noun of diminutive significance; there need not even exist such a diminutive dual noun to which reference, if desired, could be explicitly made. A good example is: *gaksi'luṭk* SHE CRADLED HIM, literally, SHE PUT THE-TWO-SMALL (OBJECTS) DOWN TO HIM, where THE TWO SMALL (OBJECTS) refer to an implied word for CRADLE, though the word for CRADLE in actual use is a masculine (*i'-łkau*). Similarly, verbs of jumping and somersaulting have an incorporated diminutive dual object *-s-* referring to THE TWO SMALL (FEET), though the actual word for FEET is plural (*i't-pc*). Examples are: *gaksu'bɛna* SHE JUMPED; *gasixmi'ɪgwa* HE TURNED A SOMERSAULT (Wishram Texts 82.18); and *gats(s)altsgi'ma* HE LAID HER, BELLY UP. The

most transparent example of the use of an incorporated diminutive dual object to refer to an unexpressed but existing noun is afforded by certain verbs of looking, in which the *-s-* has reference to *is-qxu's* THE TWO EYES. A frequently occurring example of such a verb is *gatssi'k!ɛlutk* HE LOOKED AT HIM, literally, HE PUT THE TWO SMALL (EYES) DOWN TOWARD HIM, the *-tc-* and *-gɛl-* appearing in their diminutive forms *-ts-* and *-k!ɛl-* to agree with the object *-s-*; *gasîxîm-k!na'-uk^{u}atsk* HE LOOKED AROUND is another such verb.

As a rule, it will have been observed, a verb form tends to be consistently diminutive or non-diminutive in its consonantism. It is at least possible, however, to limit the application of the diminutive idea to some specific element of the action by "diminutivizing" only some corresponding element of the verb form. An example already published elsewhere will again do service here. The normal word for I STRUCK HIM WITH IT is *inigɛ'ltcim*. If the verb stem *-tcim* appears, with diminutive consonantism, as *-tsim*, it implies that the person struck is small; if the verbal prefix *-gɛl-*, which implies in this case intent to hit, is pronounced *-k!ɛl-* the implication is that the missile used is a small one. Hence we have four forms: *inigɛ'ltcim* I HIT HIM WITH IT; *inigɛ'ltsim* I HIT HIM (a child perhaps) WITH IT; *inik!ɛ'l-tcim* I HIT HIM WITH IT (SOMETHING SMALL), and *inik!ɛ'ltsim* I HIT HIM (A CHILD) WITH IT (SOMETHING SMALL). To be sure, such examples are very uncommon and the one just given is perhaps little more than a linguistic tour de force. Nevertheless, it shows very clearly how thoroughly alive is the feeling for the significance of consonantal play.

§ 54. *Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Chinook and Kathlamet*

So far as I am able to discover, the diminutive and augmentative consonantism of the *p* and *t* stops does not occur in Chinook; perhaps because the strengthening of these consonants in case of the dropping of a following velar counteracted this tendency. When the word *t!aɪē'ma* CREEKS has a fortis *t!* on account of the dropping of *q* in the stem *-qēɪ*, the same strengthening can not very well denote at the same time diminution.

There are, however, indications that the changes from *c* to *s* and the corresponding affricatives occurred, although the significance of

the process does not seem to have been very clear in the mind of my sole informant, Charles Cultee, while my only Clatsop informant considered changes of this type as distinguishing characteristics of the Chinook and Clatsop dialects. For instance: Clatsop, *ē'cɛlqcɛlq;* Chinook, *ē'sɛlqsɛlq* PORCUPINE.

The most characteristic case that I have found in Chinook is the following:

itsa'antca-y-ōgō'lal the waves are too bad (too great)
itsa'antsa-y-ōgō'lal the waves are a little bad

I have also:

ē'cgan cedar — *i-sgɛ'nɛma* young cedars

It is, however, worth remarking that this plural occurs with the particle—

gɛ'nɛm isgɛ'nɛma small young cedars

without strengthening of the *g* of *gɛ'nɛm*. An examination of the texts and explanatory notes collected from Cultee makes it fairly certain that he did not use the diminutive changes of stops in Lower Chinook.

It seems possible that a relation like that between *c* and *s* may exist between *ɬ* and *ts*.

iā'qoa-iɬ large	*iā'qoa-its* small
iō'ɬqat long	*iū'tsqat* short
ɬ!ɛx to split large planks	*ts!ɛx* to split small pieces of wood
ɬxoa'p to dig	*tsxoa'p* to gnaw

In Kathlamet I have found one very clear case of consonantic change, analogous to those found in Wishram:

ksɛmm taxi tk!unā'tɛmax ō'xoaxt small are those little salmon 98.8 (Kathlamet Texts)

Here the *s* in *ksɛmm* indicates smallness, and *tgunā'tɛmax* SALMON has been changed to *tk!unā'tɛmax*.

Syntax (§§ 55-56)

§ 55. *Syntax of Lower Chinook*

In the discussion of the morphology of the verb it has been shown that every verbal form contains incorporated pronominal representatives of the subject, and of the direct and indirect objects when these occur. Nominal incorporation is almost entirely absent. The nominal subject and the object are treated as appositions, without any organic connection with the sentence, except in so far as the

pronouns agree with the nominal gender. This agreement is, on the whole, one of form, but in the Lower Chinook texts cases occur in which the noun has indefinite (neuter) gender L-, while, according to its actual sex or number, the incorporated pronoun is masculine, feminine, or plural. I do not know whether this is an individual trait of the narrator of the available texts or not.

Generally the verb with its incorporated pronouns precedes the subject and objects, but there is great freedom of usage.

Sentences with intransitive verbs:

ayō'maqt iLā'χak!Emāna dead was their chief 37.1
aLtē'mam LgōLē'lχEmk it came a person 11.15

Sentences with transitive verbs, nominal subject and object:

aLktō'p!Ena Lā'ᵉēwam qō'La Lā'nēwa he utters his song that first one 196.7
tgigE'nχautē ikanā'tē tEmēwā'lEma they watch it a soul the ghosts 199.10 (*tgi-* they it; *i-kanā'tē* soul; *t-mēwā'lEma* ghosts)
aLgō'ctxôx Lᵉā'gil qaχ ōᵉō'kuil she carries her on her back a woman that woman 248.21

Examples of inverted order are the following:

ēqctxē'Lau atcungō'mit LEmcā'wuχ a monster (he) carried (her) away your younger sister 11.5
ka qō'La iau'a k·!imta' aLktōp!Enā'x Lā'ᵉēwam and that one there behind (he) utters (them) his songs 196.9
ēmā'cEn aLgiā'x kLā'qēwam a deer makes the one who has (his) songs (i. e., the shaman) 199.11
aqui'nEmikc tkalā'mukc atgā'qcx ō'lEχkul five men (they) hold (her) in their mouths dried salmon 267.19
ēᵉō'k aLgē'LElōtx kLtōp!Enā'n tê'lx·Em a blanket he gives (it) to (them) those who named the people 267.25

Particle verbs always precede their auxiliary verb:

Lāqᵘ atcā'yax he took him out 133.13
stuχ atcā'yax he untied him 135.13
ūhu' nē'xax he made *ūhu'* 49.3
LEkᵘ nā'xax it (fem.) broke 70.24
L!lap ā'yō he went under water 14.16

This agrees with the most frequent position of adverbs:

ä'ka aLxā'x thus it does 239.16
nau'i aLō'mEqtx it faints at once 239.6
näkct aLgiā'waᵉ they did not kill him 99.18
ya'xkati atgE'p!x there they entered 49.14

The discussion of the prefixes in § 25 shows that the relation of indirect objects to the verb are expressed by verbal elements. In

Lower Chinook prepositional elements are practically absent, but we find the demonstrative *gō*, which is used almost like a preposition.

iō'c gō iqē'p!al he was in the doorway 65.3
atcā'yaqc gō iā'tuk he bit him at his neck 9.9
naxalgu'ʟitck gō ōgō'ẋō she told her daughter 11.20
atcʟî'tkʟam gō wē'wuʟē they brought it into the house 11.23
pō'pō agᴇ'ʟax gō ʟtcuq she blew on them with water 12.6
agiō'ẋtkinᴇma gō tê'lẋim she searched for him among the people 13.8

The demonstrative character of *gō* appears in sentences like—

mō'ya mā'ʟxolē gō go there inland! 13.1
a'lta gō-y-ō'ᵉō'ʟax now (when) there the sun 13.5
ʟō'nas gō ʟqētcamē'tē ʟkēx perhaps a comb is there 13.20
gō nō'yam ō'ᵉō'ʟax there arrived the sun 97.16

It will be shown in § 56 that Wishram possesses quite a number of post-positional elements. In Lower Chinook a few of these appear, clearly loan-words, taken from Upper Chinook:

yukpᴇ't up to here 13.9
kapᴇ't (*go-pᴇ't?*) up to there, enough 98.4

In Kathlamet the number of post-positional elements is greater, but only one or two are used with any degree of freedom:

-pa. This post-position takes the place of *gō* of the Lower Chinook. It is used quite freely (see § 56.1).

igîẋk!oā'mam tᴇ'ctaqʟpa he arrived at their two selves' house 91.13[1]
itcʟōʟā'etamit ʟaẋi ʟēẋā't ʟtcu'qoapa q!oā'p he placed it that one at the water near 121.4
q!at igī'yuxt ē'tcamxtcpa like she did him her heart in 132.5

Here belong also the common demonstrative adverbs—

kō'pa there 216.9
gipā' here 250.14

-pᴇt. The post-position *-pᴇt* is not quite free in Kathlamet.

gipᴇ'tᴇmaẋ to those places 131.10
ē'lẋpät as far as the ground 67.12

-ta toward.

iō'ya ē'wata ca'xalata he went there, then upward 219.2

-at from

ē'wa iā'pōtcā't ʟqā'wulqt ʟāx iʟî'xôx then from his anus blood came out 184.5.

-te like.

ʟ!a ʟkak!ᴇmā'nate itcā'lkuilē like a chief was her resemblance 247.6
siā'xôst ʟa ʟktemenā'kstē his face was like the moon 246.6

[1] References on the rest of this page refer to F. Boas, Kathlamet Texts.

In most cases transitive and intransitive verbs are used in the ordinary manner, but a number of peculiar forms of expression deserve mention. The directional *-ō-* (§ 26) occurs in many transitive and intransitive verbs. When, however, a stem, according to its significance, is transitive, it may be made intransitive either by means of the prefix *-ki-* (§ 26), which brings about elimination of an object, or by the use of reflexive forms. Which of these forms is used depends in part on usage. In some cases the two forms are used for expressing different tenses. Thus *i-kē'-x* (*i-* he; *-kē-* prefix eliminating object; *-x* to do) signifies HE IS, the continuative tense, *n-ē'-x-a-x* (*n-* modal; *-ē-* he; *-x-* reflexive; *-a-* directive; *-x* to do) signifies HE BECOMES, the transitional tense. The manner of eliminating objects has been discussed before (§ 26). It seems, however, desirable to call attention here to the frequent use of implied objects and to the peculiar intransitive verbs with indirect objects which occupy a prominent position in Chinook sentences. Implied objects occur frequently with verbs implying the use of parts of the body, as

aLksō'pena it jumped (literally, it jumped the two [feet]) 9.6
atkcīntena'xē they kneel (literally, they kneel them two) 270.6
sā'npōt she closed her eyes (literally, they two were closed in her) 48.10

They occur also with other verbs:

melneltcā'ma you will comb me (literally, you will comb it [namely, the comb] to me)
atca-iä'lqemax he shouted at him (literally, he shouted her [namely, the shout] at him 236.9)
anLē'ltckō I oil him (literally, I oil it [namely, the oil] to him)

Intransitive verbs with indirect object are used often in place of our transitives. These forms also contain often implied objects.

nē'nxLayu he deserts me (literally, he removes himself from me)
ayaxe'lᵉiōmeqt she forgets him (literally, he on account of her forgets his own) 167.16
ninxe'lgiLx I burn him (literally, he catches fire from me)
snenpō'χuit I close my eyes (literally, they two are closed in me)
mcagelā'etā-ē you cure her (literally, you cure on account of her)

Subordinate modes are not indicated in Chinook by changes in the form of the verbs. Subordination of sentences is indicated only by conjunctions which are followed by the usual verbal forms. The

most frequent form of subordination is brought about by the particle *ma'nix* which indicates primarily a temporal relation.

ma'nix aqi^{s}ɛ'lgɛlax ikē'utan when someone sees (it) a horse 198.1
ma'nix ɪtē'mama, mitɛlō'ta when they come, give it to them 66.22
mixɛnɪk!ā'yōgō imē'tuk ma'nix aqɛmō'lɛktca bend your neck when some one will roast you 107.21 (*mi-* you him; *-xɛn* reflexive; *-ɪkɪ!ik* to bend, plural *-ɪk!āyuk*; *i-tuk* neck; *-lɛktc* to roast)

The conditional conjunctions are closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun. The forms *qē, qēa, qiā'x* occur, which perhaps express NEARNESS and ABSENCE. When a statement contrary to fact is to be expressed, the particle *pōs* is used.

qē nēkctx mai'kẋa imē'q!atxala, pōc nēkct ē'ka atci'lxax if it had not been for your badness, he would not have done so to us 139.19 (*nēkct* not; *mai'kẋa* thou; *i-q!atxala* badness; *ē'ka* thus; *tc-* he; *-lx* us; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)
qia näkct qaẋ ō^{s}ō'kuil, pōc näkct aqiā'wa^{s} if it had not been for that woman, he would not have been killed 64.5 (*qaẋ* that, feminine; *ō^{s}ō'kuil* woman; *qi-* somebody him; *-a-* directive; *-wa^{s}* to kill)
t!ayā' qia' mkɪ!ē'mɛn good, if you dive 12.12
qiā'x q!oā'p ilē'ē tcx·ī pōs amɪō'lẋam aɪgiō'cgam when you were near the land you should have said to it to take it 44.2 (*q!oā'p* near; *ilē'ē* land; *tcx·ī* then; *amɪ-* you it; *-ō-* directive; *-lẋam* to say; *aɪgi-* it him; *-o-* directive; *-cgam* to take)
qiā'x itcā'yan, tcx·ī miā'xō if it is a snake, then you shall eat it 194.2

The interrogative is expressed by the particle *na*, which, however, is not used when there is an interrogative pronoun or adverb.

tɛnlā'xo-ix na tgɛ'êltgeu? are (they) known to me my slaves? 117.10
nēkct na tnē'txiẋ? do I not know it? 66.2
ē'ktaɪx ɪgiā'xō? what will he eat? 22.20 (*ē'kta* what; *-ɪx* may be; *ɪgi-* it him [masc. object corresponding to *ē'kta*])
qā'xēwa ā'ɪō? where did they go? 23.14
ɪa'ksta x·ix·ō'ɪa? who is that? 73.14

The imperative differs from other verbal forms in that it has no directive prefix. The imperative of the transitive verb has no subject of the second person. (See §§ 22, 26).

§ 56. *Post-positions in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)*

Wishram, differing markedly in this respect from Lower Chinook, makes rather considerable use of a series of post-positive particles

defining material case relations (chiefly local and instrumental). As most such relations can be expressed by means of local and adverbial prefixes and suffixes in the verb, the denominating parts of speech being in apposition to incorporated pronominal elements, this use of postpositions must be considered as un-Chinookan in origin; the fact that some of the postpositive particles are phonetically identical with corresponding Sahaptin case suffixes proves the whole process to be borrowed from the neighboring Sahaptin linguistic stock. As a rule such postpositive particles are used with denominating parts of speech (nouns, pronouns, adjectives), but some of them may also be suffixed to predicating words (verbs, particle verbs); in the latter case the predicate is to be considered as substantivized syntactically, though not morphologically, and is used subordinately to another predicate. Wishram thus utilizes its postpositions to some extent in the building up of subordinate clauses. Where a noun or other denominating part of speech has been already represented in the verb by an incorporated pronominal element, its relation to the verb and to other nouns in the sentence is necessarily already defined, so that no postposition is necessary; even here, however, it not infrequently happens that a postposition is pleonastically used (compare such English possibilities as "He entered into the house"). If a noun is modified by a preceding attributive word (demonstrative pronoun, numeral, noun, or adjective), the postposition is used with the modifying word. The postpositions, with examples illustrating their uses, are listed in the following paragraphs:

1. ***-ba*** (***-pa***) IN, AT. With this element should be compared Yakima *-pa* IN. Examples illustrating its use with nouns and pronouns occur with very great frequency, so that only a few need here be given.

cikxa'-imat ci't!ix yak^{u}cxa'tpa half of it lies in his mouth 4.3[1]
gakłakxa'-ima ilk!a'ckac aknî'mba she put the child in the canoe 2.11
atgadi'mama da'uyaba wî'lx they will come in this land 6.17
gayu'yam îxtpô' wîlx he arrived at one land 6.28
itcqxɛ'mɛm axqxatcpa I am sick in my breast 12.27
gatci'upmt it!ô'xwatckpa he hid it in the bushes 18.25
galu'ya yaxka'ba he went up to him 20.10 (one can also say *galiglu'ya* HE WENT TO HIM with local prefix *-gɛl-*)

[1] References are to Wishram Texts.

gadiq!ɛllxi'uba icia'gîtcba ya'kᵘcxatpa wamL!u'xiba they went out through him at his nostrils, at his mouth, and at his ears 28.24

galu'xuni yaga'ilpa wi'mal it floated in the great river 48.7

alxu'ya wa'tcktib' itga'qpuks let us go on the tops of the grass 70.26 (literally, the-grass-at its-tops)

Observe that the first two examples illustrate its pleonastic use; the nouns *yakᵘcxa't* and *aknî'm* have been respectively anticipated in the verb by the pronominal elements *-i-* and *-a-*, while their local relation to the verb is defined by the prefix *-k-* ON following these elements. *-ba* is also used with demonstrative stems to form adverbs of place where: *da'ba* HERE; *kwô'ba* THERE; *iā'xiba* YONDER.

As subordinating element, *-ba* denotes WHERE; less frequently it indicates cause. It is suffixed either to the verb itself, or, similarly to the case of the modified noun, to an adverb or particle preceding the verb. Examples are:

ctā'xya i'nadix q!a'tsɛnba gatccgɛ'lgɛlx across yonder (were) the two where he had first seen them 8.10 (literally, first-at he-saw-them)

galiktô'ptck gatccgɛlkɛ'lxpa he came to land where he had seen them 8.5

ē'wi gali'xôx gayaxa'limalxpa he looked back to where he had thrown himself into the water 8.6

ma'sa gali'xôx q!u'mba gagi'ux he was ashamed because she had disturbed him in his sleep 58.26 (literally, disturb-in-sleep at she-made-him)

2. ***-iamt*** (often with palatalized *a* as *-iämt*, *-iêmt*) TO, FROM. This suffix is probably Chinookan in origin; it may be plausibly analyzed as verb stem *-i-* GO + verb suffix *-am* ARRIVING + tense suffix *-t*. This analysis would explain its two apparently contradictory meanings. It tends to draw the accent to itself. Examples are:

icktê'lgwiptck wimalia'mt they collected (driftwood) from the river 2.2

nigɛlga'ba iciagitcia'mt it flew out of his nostrils 80.29 (literally, out of him from his nostrils)

gacxᵘk!wa'x tctôqlia'mt the two returned to their house 2.12

gayuk!wî'xa ilaxnî'miêmt he swam to the person's canoe 18.23

mxa'tcktcam wimalia'mt go to the river and wash yourself 22.18 (literally, go-and-wash-yourself to-the-river)

gatclu'kᵘl itqᵘliä'mt iltcqoa he took the water to the house 28.8

As subordinating element it may be translated as TO WHERE. An example of its use after verbs is:

asᴇmxᴇlu'tka a'tpχiamd aga'ʟax you shall look towards the east 188.21 (literally, she-comes-out to-where the-sun)

3. ***ba'ma*** FOR, BELONGING TO. This is evidently the Yakima suffix *-pama* FOR. Examples of its use with denominating words are:

na'ikabam' amtkłni'dama ilqagi'lak for my sake you two will go and get me the woman 62.25

ya'χtau łaχka'bama łgiubī'tcᴇma that (fish) he obtains for himself 186.4

gaqxô'gwigax its!i'nônks wî'lχpama animals were taken belonging to the country 16.13

ctmô'ĸct gactu'iχ ntca'ikabama two of our men (literally, us-for) went on 216.16

da'nbama qxē'dau mxu'lal what for do you speak thus? 132.24

łga'tqwôm łuwa'n qa'xbabama he has come I know not where from 128.17 (literally, what-in belonging-to)

k!a'ya kwô'babama idᴇ'lχam tcduxt he had not made people belonging to there 44.23

gi'gwalbam' itk!i'tit underclothes (literally, below-for clothes)

Less commonly *bama* may precede. An example is—

bam' iʟxē'wulχ akługwi'' ilk!a'lamat he carries rocks for (i. e., in order to gain) strength 186.17 (cf. *iʟxē'wulχ bama* 188.2)

When used at the beginning of a predication, *bama* gives it the meaning of a clause of purpose. Examples are:

ba'ma ła'-itcka a'lᴇm' atcłudi'na in order that he might kill them 54.2 (literally, for them will he-will-kill-them)

bama capca'p qiuxu'nnił ika'ba 188.19 for chopping up the ice (literally, for chop-up it-is-always-made the-ice)

When accented (*bama'*), it is used after predicates to mean EVER SINCE. An example is—

nk!a'ckacbama' k!ā'ya qxantciχ itctcgᴇ'mᴇm ever since I was a child I have never been sick 190.9

4. ***(E)nEgi*** WITH, BY MEANS OF, less frequently MADE OUT OF. It seems to be the Yakima genitive case ending *-ngi*. Examples are—

axk' ᴇ'nᴇgi amcgiu'xa łq!ô'p with it you will cut it off 12.4

ʟq!ô'p galgi'ux aqᴇ'nᴇkc ᴇ'nᴇgi they cut it off with the stone knife 18.5

galkłô'ql' alakcᴇ'n ᴇnᴇgi he counted them with his finger 18.19

it!a'ma ngi gayu'ya he went by means of a round-pointed canoe 38.21

iga'bᴇnac ᴇ'nᴇgi gatclu'x he made them out of young oak 4.13

Less frequently *ngi* may precede. Examples are—

xa'u xau galxu'x ng' ilkcᴇ'n they combed themselves with the hand 78.10

ayak!a'lamat ngi wa'nux his pipe (was) made out of a stomach 94.9

a'mᴇni MADE OUT OF, less frequently WITH. It is perhaps the Yakima *-nmi*. Examples are—

sā'qᵘ itk!a'lamat a'mᴇni aki!xax it is entirely out of stones 82.13

isk!u'ly' amᴇni isga'k!aps aqsu'xwa a hat is made out of coyote 182.7

alk!wa'dit amᴇni aqiu'xwa it is made of tule 182.9

itq!u'tc' a'mᴇni tsᴇ'xtsᴇx gaqtu'x itk!a'munaq they split trees by means of antlers 182.14

6. ***-pt*** UP TO is used to form adverbs out of demonstrative stems: *dapt* UP TO HERE; *kwôpt* UP TO THERE, THEN, ENOUGH; *ya'ẋpt* UP TO YONDER. Probably etymologically identical with this element is ***-bᴇt***, frequently added to verbs or other words in the predicate to form temporal clauses. Examples are—

gatclᴇ'mquit łqa'wulqt gagiuła'dabît he spit blood when she threw him down 14.11

galikta'tckpᴇt p!a'la igi'xôx when he had come up out of the water, he stopped 22.18

lᴇ'p(b)ᴇt alxu'xwa anigᴇlgā'ya when he dives, I shall take hold of it 18.20

nk!a'ckacbᴇt when I was a boy 188.8

aga'lax alaxu'xwa yaxtadi'wi gali'xux galxô'qbᴇt the weather will be as it was when they came together 130.27

When rhetorically lengthened to *-bā̄'t*, this post-position has a general cumulative significance; with verbs it is best translated AS MANY AS. Examples are—

gwᴇ'nᴇmabä'd ilgwô'mᴇx antk!wa'lalaqwida I shall be absent as much as five days 122.12

kwô'pt natcdupgᴇnayabā̄'t that many (ropes) as he had apportioned 188.6

qxa'ntcipt alklxa'tgway' atcłulẋamabā̄'t he piles up as many as he tells him to 186.19

7. ***diwi*** (emphatic ***dä'wi***) LIKE. This element is very likely of demonstrative origin, and so does not perhaps belong here. It is freely used, however, as a post-position, and so may be included. Examples are—

ick!a'li diwi datc!i'p striped like a basket 166.2

iya'łqx ilgwa'łilẋ diwi his body (was) like a person's 166.17

naika dä'wi itcᴇ'lgulit exactly like my appearance 104.10

VOCABULARY (§§ 57-60)

§ 57. Onomatopoetic Terms

The most important trait of the Chinook vocabulary is the abundance of onomatopoetic terms.

There are many nouns of onomatopoetic origin. All of these contain the imitative group of sounds doubled. Since, in onomatopoetic words when used as verbs, duplication of the stem signifies repetition, the doubling of the stem in nouns may be interpreted as meaning that the particular sound is uttered habitually by the object designated by the onomatopoetic term. Some nouns contain other phonetic elements in addition to the doubled group of imitative sounds.

This class of nouns includes particularly names of birds, of a few other animals, and a miscellaneous group of terms among which are found names of parts of the body and a few terms of relationship. Some of these are not strictly onomatopoetic, but may be included in the class of doubled stems for the sake of convenience.

(1) Birds.

From stem *t!ē* is formed *it!ē't!ē* hawk

qoēl	*iqoē'lqoēl* owl
pōē	*ipō'ēpōē* (sp.?)
qēs	*iqē'sqēs, o^{c}ē'c^{c}ēc* blue jay
qoās	*iqoā'sqoas* crane
qonē	*iqonē'qonē* gull
ts$_{EN}$	*ē'ts$_{EN}$tsen* humming-bird
goēx	*ogoē'xgoēx* female mallard-duck
tc!āk	*utc!aktc!ā'k* eagle
tsiās	*otsiā'stsias* robin
qul	*ē'qulqul* heron
lōt	*iqsō'tlotlōt* (sp.?)
ts!ēk	*ōmunts!ē'kts!ēk* teal-duck
koaē	*otc!ē'nakoaēkoaē* (sp.?)
tcx$_{EN}$	*tq!ē'ptcx$_{EN}$tcx$_{EN}$* sprigtail ducks
qēt	*c$_{EN}$qētqē't* hawk
kon	*iqstō'konkon* woodpecker

(2) Mammals.

From stem *p$_{EN}$* is formed *ō'p$_{EN}$p$_{EN}$* skunk; *ī'p$_{EN}$p$_{EN}$* badger

nam (?)	*ēnamnā'muks* otter
kōtc	*ukō'tckōtc* porpoise
t$_{EP}$	*s$_{E}$'nt$_{EP}$t$_{EP}$* shrew
c$_{EL}$q	*ē'c$_{EL}$qc$_{EL}$q* porcupine

(3) Other animals.

From stem *qo* is formed *ē'qoqo* pike

ʟōx *iʟō'xʟox* oyster

lɛx *iqalɛ'xlɛx* a small fish (see *lɛx* scales)

xē *iq!oatɛ'xēxē* bullfrog

mɛn *ōlatsē'mɛnmɛn* newt

lō *sɛq!alōlō* butterfly

(4) Plants.

From stem *ma* is formed *emā'ma* pewterwort

qɛl *ō^{ɛ}ɛlqɛl* polypodium

cāq *ucā'qcaq* pteris

(5) Parts of body.

From stem *p!ōx̣* is formed *up!ō'x̣p!ōx̣* elbow

tcx̣ōl *utcx̣ō'ltcx̣ōl* lungs

kuc *ckucku'c* testicles

(6) Terms of relationship.

From stem *ga* is formed *iā'gaga* his mother's father

qac *iā'qacqac* his father's father

cga *oyā'cgacga* his mother's mother

k!ē *oyā'k!ēk!ē* his father's mother

ma *ʟiā'mama* his father

ta *ʟiā'tata* his mother's brother

k!āc *ik!ā'ckc* boy

(7) Miscellaneous terms:

From stem *pāt* is formed *ipā'tpat* net

tcɛl *ē'tcɛltcɛl* brass buttons

sɛq *ōsɛ'qsɛq* buck-skin

tsɛx *ʟtsɛ'xtsɛx* gravel, thorn

k!oyē *ok!oyē'k!oyē* fingering

gac *ogō'cgac* sealing-spear

kup *ikupku'p* short dentalia

qāl (?) *iqā'lxal* gambling-disks

ʟ!al *iʟ!alʟ!al* gambling-disks

q!āl *iq!ā'lq!al* short baton

qwîs *ō^{ɛ}wîsqwîs* breaking of wind

qōm (?) *iqō'mxōm* cedar-bark basket

ʟk!ɛn *ō'ʟk!ɛnʟk!ɛn* open basket

qula *ʟqulā'^{ɛ}ula* egg

lɛx *ō'lɛxlɛx* scales

ʟ!uwalk *ē'ʟ!uwalkʟ!uwalk* mud

lɛm *ōlɛmlɛm* rotten wood (-^{ɛ}*lɛm* rotten bark)

qot *iq!ē'qotqot* fever

A second large class of onomatopoetic terms, those used in place of verbs, has been discussed before (§ 46).

§ 58. Nouns Expressing Adjectival and Verbal Ideas

In Chinook a great many adjectives and verbs are expressed by substantives. In these expressions the quality or action becomes the subject or object of the sentence, as the case may be. The Chinook will say, THE MAN'S BADNESS KILLED THE CHILD'S POVERTY, meaning that the bad man killed the poor child. It is true that such expressions are not entirely unfamiliar to us; for we can say, HE WENT THE WHOLE LENGTH OF THE WAY, or HE MASTERED THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE PROBLEM, in which we also treat a quality as objective. In Chinook this method is applied to a greater extent than in any other language I know. Many qualities are used only as abstract nouns, while others may be transformed into adjectives by the prefix *g-*, which expresses possession (see § 17.6); for instance:

iā'q!atxal his badness
giā'q!atxal the one who has his badness (i. e., the bad one)

In the same way, verbs appear as nouns. This also is a mode of expression not unfamiliar to us, although the frequent application of such expressions and the ideas they express appear very strange. We can say, like the Chinook, HE MAKES A HIT and HE HAS A SICKNESS, instead of HE HITS and HE IS SICK; we can even use the verbal idea as the subject of a transitive verb, or form analogous passive constructions; for instance, SORROW FILLED HIS HEART, HE WAS SEIZED BY A FIT OF ANGER; but the absence or rarity of the corresponding verbal forms and the strong personification of the verbal idea in the noun appear to us quite strange.

Most of the nouns of this class are always used with the possessive pronoun. The following examples illustrate their uses:

a'lta (1) *itsanō'kstx* (2) *ōɬk!ɛ'nɬk!ɛn* (3) *agiā'lōtk* (4) *ik!ɛnā'tan* (5) now (1) she put (4) potentilla-roots (5) into (4) the smallness of (2) a clam basket (3) 43.22

ohō' (1) *itci'qōqcin* (2) *ɬia'xauyam* (3) *!* ohō' (1) my wife's relative's (2) poverty (3) ! i. e., oh, my poor relative ! 67.21

taqē' (1) *ēē'tcxōt* (2) *iā'lkuilē* (3) just like (1) a bear's (2) similarity (3) 275.11

qulɛ'tc (1) *igō'ɬgɛli* (2) *tcāxt* (3) *Iō'i* (4) once more (1) her lie (2) has done her (3) Ioi (4) i. e., Ioi has lied again 163.14

ō'lō (1) *aktā'x* (2) *tê'lx·ɛm* (3) hunger (1) acts on (2) the people (3) 260.16

ka'nauwē (1) *tɛlalā'xukc* (2) *ō'tām^{ɛ}ō* (3) all (1) birds (2) their chewed thing (3) i. e., all birds eat of it 40.18

ta'kɛ (1) *ā'yatc!a* (2) *nixā'lax* (3) then (1) his sickness (2) came to be on him (3) i. e., then he became sick

qa'da (1) *itxā'^{ɛ}alqt* (2) *qtgiā'xō* (3) *?* how (1) shall we make (3) our wailing (2)?

A list of these nouns has been given on pp. 599–600.

It will, of course, be understood that these words, from the Chinook point of view, do not form a separate class, but that they are simply concrete or abstract nouns, as the case may be. They are in no way different from similar constructions in English, in which the quality of an object is expressed as its property. We find, therefore, also, that many ordinary concrete nouns perform the functions of adjectives. *Ayā'pχɛla* (1) *icimē'wat* (2), literally, THE DUCK (2) ITS FAT (1) means the duck had (much) fat, or the fat duck. The only peculiarity of Chinook in this respect is, that certain ideas which we consider as qualities or activities are always considered as concrete or abstract nouns. A glance at the list shows clearly that quite a number of these words can not be considered as stems. Some are derivatives of unchangeable words, and others are evidently compounds.

§ 59. Phonetic Characteristics of Nominal Stems

On account of the intricate derivation of Chinook nouns, and our unfamiliarity with the component stems, it is impossible to describe the phonetic characteristics of nominal stems. The lists of nouns given before (pp. 597 et seq.) contain a number of stems consisting of consonants only, while most of the others are monosyllabic stems. It is doubtful if the purely consonantic stems have originated entirely through phonetic decay. A comparison of the Upper and Lower Chinook dialects gives no decisive answer to this question.

On the whole I am under the impression that a considerable number of monosyllabic nouns, and perhaps a few of two syllables, may be considered as stems.

§ 60. Verbal Stems

The onomatopoetic stems which do not readily form true verbs, and the nouns used for expressing verbal ideas (so far as they are not derivatives) reduce the total number of true verbal stems considerably. These are very brief, consisting sometimes of a single

sound, often of a group of consonants, or of a single syllable. Stems of this character are relatively so numerous as to arouse suspicion that all dissyllabic stems may be compounds.

In many cases it is very difficult to determine the stem of the verb, because it remains often doubtful whether an initial *-x*, *-k*, and *-g* belong to the stem or to a prefix. The following list contains only such stems the phonetic character and significance of which appear reasonably certain. The stems are arranged according to their initial sounds—first vowels, then labials, dentals, palatals, and finally laterals. The beginning of the stem is marked by parallel lines; suffixes are separated by single lines; tr., signifies transitive; intr., intransitive.

-ɛnux̣ others, apart
-ā'mka only, alone
-ā'newa first
-ēx̣t one (for animals and inanimate objects)
-ē'x̣at one (person)
-o||i to go. The forms of this verb are irregular. Some are derived from a stem *-i*, while others seem to have the stem *-ō*. It may be, however, that the latter is only the directive prefix *-ō-*. The stem *-i* (which is absent in forms like *ā'yō* HE GOES, *ā'ʟō* IT GOES) reappears in
ayō'yam he arrives
ayō'ix he is in the habit of going
nō'ya I go
nō'yam I arrive
nē'gɛmoya he goes along it
nigɛlō'ya I go for a purpose, i. e., I go hunting
ayoē'wulx̣t he goes up
-xɛl||ōi|ma other, different
-wa to pursue
-ā||wa to pursue tr. 62.12
-xā||wa to run pl. intr. 276.9
-xɛ'l||wa|ko to follow around
-u||wā'||x·it to flee (=to be pursued) 223.10
-u||wā'|ko to demand 157.19
-ā||wa^{ɛ} to kill sing. obj.
-a||wan belly 186.6 (=pregnant)
-ā||wul^{ɛ} to swallow 46.12
-ā||wintsx to melt
-u||wē'^{ɛ} raw, unripe 93.26
-pɛna to jump
-o||pɛna tr. with dual obj. to jump 192.13

-*palau* to talk
-*o*||*palaw*|*ul* to address some one tr. 213.15
-*ki*||*palau* substantive TO BEWITCH (=word) 62.16
-*o*||*piā'ʟx* to gather, to pick 245.5
-*o*||*pēqʟa* to scratch 26.21
-*o*||*pēʟ* to stretch out 109.12
-*pō* to close, to shut
-*x*||*pō*|*tē* to be locked 12.3
-*ā*||*pō* to shut a box
-*n*||*pō*|*t* to shut in (=to shut eyes) 47.18
-*x*||*pōna* to carry food to wife's relatives 249.7
-*o*||*pōn*|*it* to put up 29.8
-*pōl* darkness, night
-*pō'lakli* dark 29.8
no'pōnɛm it gets dark 23.5
-*ō*||*pcut* to hide 9.10
-*o*||*ptca* to lead by hand 130.6
-*o*||*ptcx* to mend
-*o*||*p!ɛna* to pronounce, to utter 253.21
-*o*||*m*|*ako* to distribute, to give presents 98.8
-*l*||*m*|*ako* 77.17
-*o*||*mā'inx* rotten 199.26
-*o*||*mētck* to find, gather up 162.21
-*l*||*mē'ctx* to loan, to lend; tr. with two obj.
-*o*||*mēqʟ* to lick 42.8
-*o*||*mēla* to scold 93.24 (=bad? Kathlamet)
-*mēẋa* one more
-*o*||*mɛt* to grow up 224.4
-*ō*||*mɛl* to buy 94.20
-*ō*||*mɛqt* to die sing. 114.3, to faint, 239.6
-*ō*||*mɛqtit* thirsty 71.1
-*mɛq* to vomit, to spit
-*ō*||*mɛq*|*o-it* to spit
-*ō*||*mᵉ*|*a* to vomit 13.6
e'||*mᵉa*|*lqʟ* qualmish
-*xɛn*||*mō'sx·ɛm* to play, to fool, to make fun of 178.18
-*ō*||*t* to give 164.6
-*t* to come
-*t*|*e* to come 15.18
-*t*|*ē*|*mam* to arrive coming 161.14
-*x*||*t*|*akō* to come back 28.21
-*x*||*t*|*akōm* to arrive coming back 16.17
-*ga*||*t*|*!ōm* (for -*gatqōm*) to meet 94.11

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-*gEl* |*ta* to leave 250.8
-*xEl*||*ta* to leave 250.10
-*ᵉEl*||*ta*|*qL* to leave sing. obj. 123.15
-*ē*||*ta*|*qL* to leave pl. obj. 128.7
-*l*||*ta*|*tkc* to leave to somebody 177.5
-*k*||*ta* to pursue, to meet 197.24, 23.19
-*l*||*taqt* to meet 164.26
-*o*||*tēna* to kill pl. obj. 23.22
-*l*| |*tigō* to oil, to grease; tr. with two objs., the direct obj. -*L*- standing for GREASE
-*xEl*||*tōm* to accompany 135.20
-*o*||*tukc* to suck
-*tk* to put down
-*ō*||*tk* to put away 177.6, to snow 42.1
-*xEm*|*ō*||*tk* to stake 30.16
-*ō*||*tg*|*akō* to put down around (=to step) 240.29
-*ō*|*tcin*||*tk* to put first (=to begin)
-*ō*||*tx* to give away
-*tx̣* to stand sing.
-*ō*||*tx̣*|*uit* to stand 184.20
-*g*|*ō*|*tx̣* to stand on, to strike 191.20
-*ō*||*tx̣*|*uit*|*tcu* to fall down
-*ō*||*tx̣*|*umit* to place upright 48.5
-*ō*||*tx̣*|*uitck* to make ready 42.17
-*xEl*||*tx̣*|*uitck* to get ready
-*tcam* to hear
-*x*| *tcîmaq* to understand 165.16
-*l*||*tcimaq* to hear 24.18
-*o*||*tcēna* to lay down 98.6
-*o*||*tceqLkᵘ* to be crosswise 266.13
-*gEl*||*tcim* to strike, to hit 66.4
-*tct* to move on water
-*o*||*tct*|*tcu* to go down river by canoe 277.3
-*o*||*tct*|*amit* to push into water 74.22
-*o*||*tctx̣ōm* to finish 46.23
naxE'||*tctx̣ōm* to finish one's own (breath), to faint
-*o*||*tcktc* to wash 39.23
-*o*||*tsqat* short
-*xEl*|*o*||*tcx* to observe 25.1
-*o*||*tcx̣Em* to boil 23.4
-*c* to be somewhere sing.
-*o*||*c* to be 219.7
-*l*|*ō*||*c* to be in 151.3
-*k*|*ō*||*c* to be on 39.12
-*x̣*|*ō*||*c* to be on ground 39.18

-o||*ci* to roast in ashes 185.4
-o||*ctx* to carry on back 114.20
-*cg* to take
  -o||*cg*|*am* to take 134.1
  -o||*cge*|*ʟx* to take to water 116.24
  -*x*||*cg*|*am* to take away
  -*gʟ*|*ge*||*cg*|*am* to help 28.6
  -*x*||*cg*|*al*|*iʟ* to play 17.4
-o||*sko*|*it* warm 174.13
-*ckta* to search on beach 88.4
-o||*ck*^{u}*!ʟ* to turn over fire
-′||*nata* on the other side, across
-*naxʟ* to miss something that is needed
  -o||*naxʟ*|*atck* to lose 43.17
-o||*naʟx* to wipe
-*ni* to tie (?)
  -*k!ē*||*ni*|*ako* to tie around 253.2
  -*x*||*ni*|*ako* to tie around 115.24
-*ngo* to run sing.
  -*xa*||*ngo* to run 23.23
  -*xa*|*tᴇ*||*ngo* to come running 28.3
  -o||*ngō′mit* to cause to run (= to carry away) 27.16
  -o||*nguē* to flutter
-*kᴇl* to see
  -^{ɛ}*ʟ̄*||*kᴇl* to see sing. obj. 115.1
  -^{ɛ}*ē*||*kᴇl* to see pl. obj. 66.11
-*ka* to fly
  -*ō*||*kō* to fly
  -*t*||*ka* to come flying
  -*t*||*ka*|*mam* to arrive flying and coming
-*kim* to say 127.17
-*gē′xa* to swim
  -o||*guēxa* to swim 14.15
  -*gʟ*||*gēxa*|*xē* to swim across 217.11
gēxē (-*guēxē*?) to sweep
  -o||*guēxē* 172.5
-*kō* to go home, to pass
  -*x*||*kō* to go home 25.9, to go past
  -*xa t*||*kō* to come home 212.2
-*ka* (-*kō*?)
  -o||*kō* to order 129.29
-*gōn* another
-*x*||*kxuē* to throw away 17.11
-o||*kuman* to look at 47.2

-o||*kula* to sharpen 15.21
-o|*ktik* to lie down on side 76.8
-*kto|mit* to take revenge on relative of a murderer 203.10
-*ktuq* to enslave
-o|*ktc* to carry 66.4
-*ktcax* (-*gɛ'tcax*) to cry 275.2
-o|*ktcan* to hold in hand 271.10
-o|*ktcikt* roasted, done 134.10
-o||*ktcikt|amit* to roast 93.26
-o||*kc* to harpoon 92.9
-o|*kct* to see 217.22
-o||*kct|am* to go to see 187.10
-o|*kct* (probably the same as -*ktc* above) to carry 38.18
-*x|o|kcti* to lie down, to sleep 76.20
-*xal|o|kctgo* to throw down 16.8
-o|*k^{u}tck* to make net 95.4
-o||*k^{u}ʟ* to carry 129.19
-*t*||*k^{u}ʟ* to bring 127.13
-*t*|*k^{u}ʟ|am* to arrive bringing 67.6
-*k^{u}ʟ* to tell
-*x|l|guʟ|itck* to tell 37.17
-*x*||*k^{u}ʟ|ēl* 41.4
-*kʟēwa* to paddle 135.1
-o||*kʟpa* to miss 271.13
-*k!a* to haul, to pull
-*x*||*k!a* 117.19
-*gat*||*k!a* to haul here
-*k!ōʟ* to glue
-*a*||*q* to meet
-*ga*||^{ɛ}|*ōm* to arrive meeting 117.24
-*a*||*qamt* (-*a*||*q|amit*?) to look 218.11
-*a*||*qamst* to drink
-*l*||*qamx* to shout
-*qana|it* to lie
-o||*quna|it* to lie down 16.23
-*k*||*qana|it* to lay on top of
-o||*qunā'|it|x·it* to fall down
-*qā'yaqt* between
-o||*qa-iʟ* large
-*qēna* orphan
-^{ɛ}*ēm* to give food
-*l*||^{ɛ}*ēm* to give food 22.10
-*t*||*!ēm* to come to give food
-*gē*||*qoim* 240.28

-ᵉ*ōya* between
-*n*||ᵉ*ōya* to put between into 172.20
-*a*||ᵉ*oya'mit* to leave meanwhile 93.26
-*a*||ᵉ*oya* time between (= days) 175.9
-*a*||ᵉ*wēwuɪ* to invite 176.18
-*t*,||*!ēwuɪ* to invite here 41.6
-*a*||ᵉ*wilx·* to hit, to strike 65.12
-*a*||ᵉ*ōptit* to sleep 255.16
-*a*||ᵉ*ōpk* to steam on stones 97.25
-*a*||*qōt* to bathe
-*x*||ᵉ*ōt* to bathe sing. 12.8
-*x*||ᵉ*ōyut* to bathe pl.
-*a*||ᵉ*ōtc!* to awaken sing. 137.23
-*a*||ᵉ*ōyutc!* to awaken pl.
-*a*||ᵉ*ōnim* to laugh at 184.3
-*a*||*qc* to split wood 45.18, to bite 100.13
-*a*||*qcti* to be satiated 172.12
-*qɪa* to count
-*qɪā'x·it* to be counted (= to menstruate) 245.20
-*o*'|*ẋun* to drift
-*o*||*ẋtk* to steal 163.12
-*o*||*x·tkin* to search 12.5
-*ẋgō* to be transformed
-*ẋgō*|*mit* to transform 30.23
-*a*||*x* tr. to do; intr. to become, to be
-||*x*|*ōm* to arrive
-*a*||*x*|*otck* to begin to do (= to work)
-*xauwē* many
-*xāyal* common man -(*xal?*)
-*xēna* to stand pl., to place upright 23.6
-*xēna*|*x·it* to stand pl. 235.19
-*xomem* to show 41.2
-*gɛn*||*ō'tēn* to help sing 235.5
-*o*||*xoqtc* to invite 60.4
-*xōɪ!t* dizzy
-*xoɪ!* to finish
-*o*||*ẋtk* to swim (fish) 63.13
-*xg*|*ako* to surpass 245.13
-*a*||*xs* to cut
-*l* to move
-*o*||*l*|*a* to move
-*x*||*l*|*l* to shake intr. 156.14
-*o*||*l*|*atck* to lift 25.21
-*lap* to dig
ā -*laxta* next 60.8

-o||*lɛktc* to roast 124.19
-o||*lx̣am* to say to tr. 13.17
-*ɣɛmāt* next to last
-*ɣa* to sit, to remain
-o||*ɣa|it* to be, to sit 22.10
-*gɛm*||*ɣa|it* to wait for 128.5
-*xɛ'*||*ɣa|it* dead pl.
-*k*||*ɣa|it* to be in canoe
-o||*ɣata* to pull back 38.13
-o||*ɣā'ta|x·it* to fly about
-*ɣk!ik* crooked
-o||*ɣqat* long
-o||*ɣ!* (-o||*ɣq*) to win, to surpass 30.15
-*ɣqɣa* to strike
-*ge*||*ɣqɣa* to stab 89.1
-*xɛl*|ō:||*ɣqɣa* to hammer
-*xɛl*||*ɣxɛlɛm* to eat
-*ɣ!ala* foolish
-*ɣ!ɛlɛx* lean

§ 60

CHINOOK TEXT

The Shamans

Gitā′kikɛlal[1]	atgē′îx[2]	ē′wa[3]	tmēwā′lɛma.[4]	Ma′nîx[5]	aLō′nîks,[6]	
Those who have power of seeing	they go	thus	the ghosts.	When	three persons,	
Lā′nēwa[7]	aqLā′x[8]	pāt[9]	giLā′ẋawôk;[10]	k!îmta′[11]	aqLā′x[8]	pāt[9]
that one first	some one makes him	really	one who has a guardian spirit;	last	some one makes him	really
giLā′ẋawôk;[10]	kā′tsɛk[12]	aqLā′x[8]	gianu′kstẋ[13]	iLa′ẋawôk.[14]	Aqē′ktaôx[15]	
one who has a guardian spirit;	middle	some one makes him	one who has smallness	his guardian spirit.	Some one pursues it	
iLā′ẋanatē[16]	Lkā′nax,[17]	ma′nîx[5]	ē′Latc!a[18]	Lkā′nax.[17]	Ma′nîx[5]	
his life	the chief,	when	his sickness	the chief.	When	
itcā′q!atxala[19]	ayā′xɛlax[20]	qaẋ[21]	uē′ẋatk,[22]	aLktō′p!ɛna[23]	Lā′[6]ēwam[24]	
its badness	it is on it	that	trail,	he utters it	his shaman song	
qō′La[25]	Lā′nēwa.[7]	Ma′nîx[5]	ē′wa[3]	k·!îmta′[11]	itcā′q!atxala[19]	ayā′xɛlax[20]
that	first one.	When	thus	behind	its badness	it is on it

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[1] *-kɛl* TO SEE, as a transitive verb used with the prefixed element *-ᵈɛl-* (§ 25.7); *-ki-* is introduced to make the stem *-kɛl* intransitive (§ 26.4); terminal *-l* (with connecting weak vowel *al*) indicates an action characterized by many repetitions (§ 31.7); this compound stem *kikɛlal* is treated as a masculine noun, POWER OF SEEING (§ 34.5); this appears as third person plural possessive *-tā-* (§ 23), and is transformed into a personal noun by prefixed *g-* (§ 17.6).

[2] *a-* aorist (§ 17.1); *tg-* third person plural, special form (§ 19.2); *ē* vowel lengthened under stress of accent; *-x* usitative (§ 32.11).

[3] *ē′wa* THUS, THEN (§ 44.2.)

[4] *t-* third person plural (§ 21); *-mēwal* GHOST, a stem introduced after the older stem *-mēmɛlōst* had been tabooed on account of the death of a person whose name contained this word; *-ma* distributive ending, always used with the stem *-mēwal* (§ 38.2).

[5] *ma′nîx*, temporal conjunction WHEN.

[6] *Lōn* THREE; *-iks* plural indicating human beings (§ 38.1); *a-* special plural.

[7] *-ā′nēwa* FIRST; *L-* neuter pronoun (§ 18).

[8] *a-* aorist, *q-*, subject SOME ONE (§ 18); *L-* object IT (§ 18); *-d-* directive, for *ð* before *k* sound (§ 10); *-x* stem TO DO; contracted with the usitative ending *-x* (§ 32.11), which has drawn the accent to the last syllable.

[9] *pāt* REALLY, adverb.

[10] *i′kawôk* GUARDIAN SPIRIT; *-Lā-* neuter possessive (§ 23), after which the *k* changes to *ẋ* (§ 6.1); *g-* transforms the term into a personal noun (§ 17.6).

[11] *k!îmta′* LAST, AFTERWARDS, BEHIND. Adverb, may also be used as noun.

[12] *kā′tsɛk* MIDDLE. Adverb, may also be used as noun.

[13] *i- nukstẋ* SMALLNESS, with possessive pronoun masculine third person, and personifying prefix *g-* (see notes 1, 10).

[14] See note 10.

[15] *a-* aorist; *q-* SOME ONE; *-ē* HIM; stem presumably *-taˣ*; the preceding *k* seems to be adverbial ON (§ 25.3), because when accented it takes the form *gE′*, and because, after *ð*, an *ð* is inserted following it: for instance, *aqugō′taˣx* 197.15 SOME ONE PURSUES THEM; the verb has, however, only one object. It never occurs with directive *-ō-*.

[16] *i-kanā′tɛ* LIFE, SOUL. Neuter possessive (§ 23). See also note 10.

[17] *i-kā′nax* CHIEF, RICH MAN; *ðkō′nax* CHIEFTAINESS (§ 7); *Lkā′nax* indefinite, A CHIEF.

[18] *ē′-tc!a* SICKNESS. Masculine noun; neuter possessive.

[19] *ē′-q!atxala* BADNESS. Masculine noun, feminine possessive, relating to the feminine noun *uē′ẋatk*.

[20] Intransitive verb with indirect object; *a-* aorist; *y* for *i* between vowels (§ 17.1), HE (namely, badness); *ā-* HER (namely, trail); *-x-* indicates that the badness belongs to the trail (§ 24); *-l* TO (§ 25.1); *-a-* directive before *k* sound (§ 10); *-x* stem TO DO, TO BE.

qaẋ[21] uē'ẋatk,[22] ka[26] qō'La[25] iau'a[27] klîmta'[11] aLktōp!Ena'x[28]
that trail, and that one then behind he utters it

Lā'ᵉēwam.[24] Cka[26] mE'nx·ī[29] nōpō'nEmx[30] ka[26] atōgoē'la-îtx,[31] tatc! however,
his song. And a little while it is dark and they treat him,

ayu'ktEliL[32] iō'itEt[33] ka[26] aqita'ᵉōm[34] iLā'ẋanatē[16] qō'La[25] gē'Latc!a.[35]
the morning star comes and some one reaches it his life that one who has his sickness.

Aqiō'cgam[36] iLā'ẋanatē.[16] Nōxotā'kox[37] tgā'ẋawôk[38] gitā'kikElal.[1]
Some one takes it his life. They return their guardian spirits those who have power of seeing.

Ē'ẋtEmaē[39] mô'kcti[40] aLā'ᵉoîx,[41] ē'ẋtEmaē[39] ē'ẋti[42] aLā'ᵉoîx[41] ka[26]
Sometimes twice are between, sometimes once is between and

aqē'tElōtxax[43] iLā'ẋanatē[16] qigō[44] nōxotā'komx[45] qō'ta[46] tga'wôk.[38]
some one gives him to them his soul as they return those guardian spirits.

T!ā'ya[47] aLxā'x[48] gē'Latc!a.[35]
Well he becomes one who has his sickness.

Ma'nîx[5] aqiā'wax[49] iLā'ẋanatē[16] gē'Latc!a,[35] atgē'îx[2] gitā'kikElal[1]
When some one pursues him his soul one who has his sickness they go those who have the power of seeing,

ma'nîx[5] aqiā'wax[49] iLā'ẋanatē[16] gē'Latc!a;[35] iau'a[27] qiq!E'tcqta[50]
when some one pursues him his soul one who has sickness; then to the left

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[1] Demonstrative feminine, absent past (§ 44); the corresponding masculine is *qix*.

[2] *u-ē'ẋatk* TRAIL. Stem probably *-ēẋ*.

[3] *a-* aorist; *L-* indefinite (neuter) subject; *-k-* indicates *L* as transitive subject (§ 19); *-t* THEM; *-ō-* directive; stem *p!Ena* (Upper Chinook *-pqEna*).

[4] *L-qē'wam* SHAMAN'S SONG. Neuter possessive (§ 23); since the accent is thrown back before the *q*, it is weakened to ᵉ (§ 6.3).

[5] *qōLa*, neuter demonstrative, absent invisible past (§ 44).

[6] The connective conjunction appears as *ka*, *k!a*, and *cka*. It has not been possible to give a satisfactory explanation of their uses.

[7] THEN. Demonstrative adverb related to *ē'wa*.

[8] See note 23, with usitative suffix *-x* (§ 32.11).

[9] *mank* A LITTLE; with adverbial ending *-ī*, the *k* is always aspirated.

[10] Irregular formation from the feminine stem *-pōl*. It would seem as though the directive *-ō* had been inserted in the verbal form in which the aoristic *n-* appears before a vowel (§ 17.1). This *n-* has assimilated the *-l* of *-pōl* (§ 8). The explanation is, however, not satisfactory.

[11] *a-* aorist; *t-* third person plural intransitive subject; *-ō-* third person plural object before *-g; -gē-* prefix eliminating one object (?) (§ 26.4); *-la-it* stem, perhaps *-l+-a-it* (§ 29.1).

[12] Intransitive third person masculine singular before vowel, when the *i-* takes a consonantic character, so that the aoristic *a* is retained; *-u* directive; stem *-ktEliL*.

[13] *i-* third person masculine singular before vowel, *-ō*.

[14] *a-* aorist; *-q-* indefinite subject; *-i-* third person masculine singular object; *-taᵉ* stem TO PURSUE; *-ōm* for *-am* after *k* sound, TO ARRIVE (§ 26.1).

[15] See *ē' Latc!a* (note 18); *g-* personal noun (§ 17.6).

[16] *a-* aorist; *-q-* indefinite subject; *-i-* third person masculine singular object; *-ō* directive; *-cg-* stem TO TAKE; *-am* completion of motion.

[17] *n-* aorist before vowel; *-ō-* third person plural before *k* sound; *-x* reflexive; *-o* probably short and introduced after *o* preceding *x; -t* stem TO COME; *-āko* AROUND, BACK; *-x* usitative.

[18] *t-* plural; *tgā'-* third person plural possessive; *ī'kawôk* GUARDIAN SPIRIT.

[19] *ēẋt* ONE; *-ma* distributive; *-ē* adverb.

[20] *môkct* TWO; *-i* (= *-ē*) adverb.

[21] *a-* aorist; *L-* intransitive third person neuter subject; *-a-* directive, for *-ō-* before *k* sound; stem *-ᵉoya* BETWEEN; *-x* usitative.

[22] *ēẋt* ONE; *-i* (= *-ē*) adverb.

[23] *a-* aorist; *-q-* indefinite subject; *-ē-* HIM; *-t-* THEM; *-l-* TO; *-ō-* directive; *-tx* TO GIVE AWAY; *-x* usitative. This form is unusual in so far as the two terminal *x*'s are not contracted and the accent is not on the ultima.

[24] Demonstrative adverb *q-* invisible; *-i-* masculine; *-qō* THERE.

[25] See note 37; *-om* for *-am* after *k* sound and perhaps contracted with *-ako; -x* usitative.

[26] See note 25, plural.

[27] See § 46.3.

[28] *a-* aorist; *-L-* neuter; *-x-* reflexive; *-ā-* directive, for *-ō-* before *k* sound; *-x* stem TO DO.

[29] *a-* aorist; *-q-* indefinite subject; *-i-* third person masculine object; *-ā-* directive, accented before *w; -wa-* TO PURSUE ONE; *-x* usitative.

[30] *qiq!E'tcqta* LEFT; *qinq!eama'* RIGHT. Particles.

qax[21] uē'χatk[22] aLō'îx;[51] nōgō'goîmx[52] gitā'kikELal:[1] "Ō,
that trail it went; they say those who have the power of seeing: "Oh,

LŌ'mEqta,[53] taL!!"[54] Ma'nîx[5] iau'a[27] qinqleama'[50] ayō'îx[55]
he will die, nevertheless!" When there to the right goes

iLā'χanatē:[16] "Ō, tlā'ya[47] qLā'xō."[56]
his soul: "Oh, well some one will make him."

Aqiga'ɛōmx[57] qigō[44] naLxoā'pē[58] ilē'ē.[59] Ia'xkatē[60] aLkLE-
Some one reaches it when the hole ground. There they always

ɛE'mcta-itx[61] tmēmELō'ctikc.[62] Ma'nîx[5] aLkLā'mctx[63] gē'Latcla[35] gō[64]
drink it the ghosts. When he has drunk it the one who has his sickness there

qō'La[25] Ltcuq,[65] a'lta[66] nēkct qa'nsix[67] tlayā'[47] aqLā'x.[8] Qē'xtcē[68]
that water, then not (any) how well some one makes him. Endeavoring

ka'nauwē[69] tgā'qēwama[70] ataLgē'la-itx,[71] nākct[72] L!pāx[73] aqLā'x.[8]
all their shaman songs they treat him, not well some one makes him.

Lſap[73] aqē'ax[74] iLā'χanatē[16] qō'La[25] LkLāmctx[63] Ltcuq.[65]
Find some one does it his life that it has drunk it the water.

Aqiō'cgamx,[36] iā'qoa-iL[75] qix·[21] ikanā'tē.[16] Nōxōtā'kux[37] tgā'χawôk[38]
Some one takes it, it is large that life. They return their guardian spirits

gitā'kikELal.[1] Iā'qoa-iL[75] qix·[21] ikanā'tē.[16] Aqiō'cgamx[36] qloa'p[73]
those who have power of seeing. It is large that life. Some one takes it near

iā'kua[76] Natē'tanuē[77] ka[26] ianō'kstx[13] nē'xElax.[78] Nōgō'go-îmx[52]
here Indians and its smallness comes to be on it. They say

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[51] *a-* aorist; *-L-* neuter subject; *-ō-* directive; see note 2.

[52] *n-* aorist before vowel; *-ō-* plural before *k* sound; *-gō* introduced before *k* stop (§ 19.2*b*); *-k·im, -gim* TO SAY, in which *-ō-* is introduced in harmony with preceding *o* (§ 7); *-x* usitative.

[53] *L* neuter subject; *-ō-* directive; stem *-mEqt* DEAD, *-a* future.

[54] See § 50.

[55] *a-* aorist before consonantic *y*, which stands for intervocalic *-i-* third person masculine subject (see note 51).

[56] *q-* indefinite subject; *-L-* neuter object; *-ā-* directive before *k* sound; *-x* stem TO DO; *-ō* future for *-a* after *k* sound (§ 26.1).

[57] *a-* aorist; *q-* indefinite subject; *-i-* third person masculine object; *-ga-* adverbial prefix (?); *-ɛ* stem TO MEET; *-ōm* for *-am* after *k* sound, COMPLETION OF MOTION (compare note 34).

[58] *na-* prefix for local names (§ 40.3); *Lxoap* onomatopoetic term, TO DIG; *-ē* suffix.

[59] Stem *-ēlχ*; masculine; on account of accented vowel following the cluster *-lχ*, the *χ* is dropped (§ 6.2); *-ē* suffix.

[60] See § 44.

[61] *a-* aorist; *-Lk-* neuter transitive subject with following *k* sound (§ 19); *-L-* neuter object, implying water (see note 65); *-qamct* stem TO DRINK, here modified by accent into *-ɛamct; -a-itx* ALWAYS (§ 31.10).

[62] See note 4. The stem *-mēmELōst* DEAD was used occasionally by the narrator; *t-* plural; *-ikc* plural ending (§ 38.1).

[63] See note 61. This form stands for *aLkLE'ɛEmctx*.

[64] Demonstrative adverb (§ 44).

[65] Stem *-tcuq*; neuter.

[66] See § 47.

[67] See § 44.

[68] Adverb indicating an action performed, but not attaining the desired end.

[69] Indefinite numeral (§ 51).

[70] See note 24. Here the stem *-qēwam* is retained in its original form; *tga-* plural, possessive third person plural; *-ma* plural.

[71] *a-* aorist; *-t-* third person plural intransitive subject; *-L-* neuter object (see note 31).

[72] *nEkct* NOT, with rhetoric emphasis *näkct*.

[73] Attribute complement.

[74] *a-* aorist; *q-* indefinite subject; *-ē-* masculine object; *-a* directive before *k* sound; *-x* stem TO DO.

[75] *i-* third person masculine singular continuative; *-a* directive before *k* sound; *-qoa-iL* stem LARGE.

[76] Demonstrative adverb of the groups *ē'wa, iau'a, ia'kwa* (§ 44).

[77] Plural in *na-;* stem *-tē'tanuē* (§ 21).

[78] Intransitive verb; *n-* aorist; *-ē-* contracted from *i-i* HE HIS (§ 12); *-x-* reflexive; *-l-* TO; *-a-* directive before *k* sound; *-x* stem TO DO, TO BE.

ktōguilā'lē:[79] "Lō'nas näkct[72] LE'tlo̱îx[80] ka[26] Lō'mEqta."[53]
those who treat them: "Perhaps not it comes between and he will die."

Niktcō'ktixē.[81] Qē'xtcē[68] aqē'tElōt[43] iLā'x̣anate.[16] Aqā'tElōtx,[82]
It gets day. Endeavoring some one gives it to them his life. Some one gives it to them

q!oa'p[73] ka'nauwē[69] ē'LaL^{a}a[83] ka[26] aLō'mEqtx.[53] NiLgEngā'gux[84]
nearly all his body and he dies. It is too small

iLā'x̣anatē.[16]
his soul.

[Translation.]

The seers go thus to the ghosts. When there are three of them, the one who has a strong guardian spirit is placed first, and one who has a strong guardian spirit is placed last. One who has a small guardian spirit is placed in the middle. The soul of a chief is pursued when the chief is sick. When the trail is bad, the first one utters his shaman song. When the trail is bad behind, then the one there behind utters his shaman song. And it is night for a little while, and they treat him; but when the morning star comes, the soul of the sick one is overtaken. His soul is taken. The guardian spirits of the seers return. Sometimes his soul is given to him two nights, sometimes one night, after the guardian spirits return. Then the sick one becomes well.

When the soul of a sick person is pursued, the seers go, when the soul of the sick person is pursued. There it went thus on the trail to the left. Then the seers say, "Oh, he will die, anyway!" when the soul went there thus to the right, "Oh, he will become well!"

It is reached where there is a hole in the ground. There the ghosts are in the habit of drinking. When the sick one has drunk of that water, he can not be made well at all. All those who have shaman songs try to treat him, but he is not made well.

The soul of one who has drunk of that water is found. It is taken. That soul is large. The guardian spirits of the seers return. That soul is large. It is taken here, near to the Indians, and it grows small. Those who treat them say, "Perhaps it will not be one night before he will die." It gets daylight. The attempt is made to give him his soul. It is given to him. It nearly (fills) his body, and he dies. His soul is too small.

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[79] See note 31. *k-* personal noun.

[80] See note 41. Presumably with directive *-i-* TO COME, which is strengthened by the elision of *q* (§ 6.3).

[81] *n-* aorist before vowel; *-i-* masculine subject; *-k* is a prefix. The origin of the suffix is not clear.

[82] *ă* rhetoric lengthening of *ē* (see notes 43, 72).

[83] *ē-* masculine pronoun; *-La-* neuter possessive; *-L^{a}a* stem BODY.

[84] *n-* aorist; *-i-* third person masculine intransitive subject referring to the soul; *-L-* neuter object, referring to the owner of the soul or life; *-gEn* probably for *-gEl* ON ACCOUNT OF (§ 25.4); *-g-* probably stem; *-aqo* AROUND, or part of stem; *-x* usitative.

KATHLAMET TEXT

Ēx̣ā′t[1] nē′qatcx̣ɛm[2] nai′ka[3] tgɛ′q!ēyuqtîkc.[4] Tqē′qɬax[5] qatciuxoā′-
One he sang conjurer's song I my ancestors. One hundred he owned

watcguîx̣.[6] ɬaxanakcō′ngut[7] iɬā′lx̣am.[8] Noxuā′koax[9] ta-îtci[10] tê′lx̣am[8]
songs. ɬaxanakcō′ngut his town. They assembled those people

ta′x̣i[11] tɛ′ɬaqɬpa[12] ya′x̣i[13] iqē′qtcxam.[2] Lākt[14] ɬpō′lɛmax[15]
that his house at that the one who sang conjurer's songs. Four nights

noxuiwī′yutckuax[16] ta-îtci[10] tê′lx̣am.[8] A′qa[17] nigē′mx[18] ya′x̣i[13]
they danced those people. Then said that

iqē′qtcxam:[2] "A′qa[17] ɬxatō′guala[19] ɬa′x̣i[13] ɬq!ēyō′qt,[4] aɬxētɛlō′tc-
one who sang conjurer's song: "Then he will come to hear that old man, he will go to see

xama."[20] Igoxuiɬō′xoa-it[21] tê′lx̣am:[8] "Qā′mta[22] ɬq[23] aɬtē′mama[24]
the dances." They thought the people: "Whence may be he will arrive

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[1] Stem *-ēx̣t* ONE; feminine *aē′x̣t;* neuter *ɬēx̣t;* plural *tēx̣t;* forms indicating human beings *ē′x̣at, aē′x̣at, ɬē′x̣at, tē′x̣at.*

[2] Stem *-tcxam;* the preceding *-k-* (heard here generally *-q-*) probably ON; *nē-* transitional masculine (§ 17).

[3] *naika* I, independent personal pronoun; used here to intensify the possessive pronoun in the following noun.

[4] *-q!ēyōt* OLD PERSON; *t-* plural; *gɛ-* my; *-ikc* plural, human beings.

[5] This form is not otherwise known.

[6] *qa-* a very frequent verbal prefix in Kathlamet, either transitional, or a slurred form of *aqa* THEN contracted with transitional *i-; tc-* HE, transitive subject; *-i-* HIM; this verb may correspond to Chinook *tciā′xuwaltck* HE HELPED HER SING (Chinook Texts 144.3).

[7] *Laxanakcō′ngut* is a Nehelim town, called in that language *Nesō′ka;* perhaps derived from *ōngut* a small bay with steep banks, and *ɬā′xanē* outside.

[8] *i-* masculine; *-ɬā-* indefinite possessive; *-lx̣am* TOWN, from stem *-lx̣.* The neuter or indefinite possessive pronoun refers here to the indefinite ancestor whose name is not stated. From the same stem is formed *tē′lx̣am,* with *t-* plural prefix.

[9] Stem probably *-koa* (Lower Chinook *-ko*); *no-* transitional, third person plural; *-x̣ua-* reflexive after *ō* vowel; *-koa* stem; *-x* usitative.

[10] Demonstrative, indicating human beings (see § 44).

[11] Demonstrative plural, referring to *tquɬ* HOUSE.

[12] Without possessive pronoun this noun has the stem *-quɬ;* with possessive pronoun the vowel is dropped. It has always the plural prefix *t-; -ɬa-* refers to the same person as the possessive in *iɬā′lx̣am* (see note 8); *-pa* at (§ 55).

[13] *ya′x̣i, wu′x̣i. ɬa′x̣i* demonstratives (§ 44).

[14] Numeral; for human beings the form *la′ktikc* is used.

[15] *wā′pōl* night; *ɬ-* indefinite pronoun; *-pōl* night, dark; *-max* distributive plural.

[16] *nō-, igō-* transitional third person plural (§ 17); *-x̣ui-* reflexive, used apparently in this verb only in the plural; the *u* is introduced after preceding *ō;* stem *-wē* TO DANCE; always ending with *-l* expressing repetition, or *-tck* expressing probably an inchoative (§ 31); *-x* usitative.

[17] This is the most common connective AND THEN (see note 6).

[18] *ni-* masculine transitional; *-kx̣im,* accented, *-qēm* to say; *-x* usitative.

[19] *ɬ-* indefinite; *-xa-* reflexive; the stem does not occur in any other place in the available material.

[20] *a-* future; *-ɬ-* indefinite; *-x-* reflexive; *-ē-* him; *-t-* coming; *-lōtcx* to look on; *-am* to go to——; *-a* future.

[21] *igō-* transitional third person plural (§ 17); *-x-* reflexive changed to *-x̣ui-* after preceding *-o-; -Lōxo* to think; *-a-it* suffix expressing rest.

[22] *qā* where; *-mta* suffix, not free; WHENCE, WHITHER.

[23] *Lq* enclitic particle, MAY BE.

[24] *a-* future; *-ɬ-* indefinite; *-tē* to come; *-mam* for *-am* after vowel TO ARRIVE (§ 29); *-a* future.

Lax'[13] Lq!eyō'qt?[4] Lx̣uan[25] ē'wa[26] Naqē'lēm[27] aLtē'mama[24] aLxitɛlō'tc-
that old man? Perhaps thus Nehelim he will arrive he will see the
xama,[20] Lx̣uan[25] ē'wa[26] Tiā'klēlakix̣[28] aLtē'mama[24] aLxitɛlō'tcxama."[20]
dance, perhaps thus Clatsop he will arrive he will see the dance."

Igō'pōnɛm.[29] A'qa[17] wī't'ax[30] iguxuiwī'yutck[16] ta-îtci[10] tê'lx̣am.[8]
It grew dark. Then again they danced those people.

Qē'q!ayaq[31] wā'pōlpa,[32] a'qa[17] tɛll[23] igō'xoax[34] ta-îtci[10] tê'lx̣am.[8]
Middle night at, then tired became those people.

Igugoaqē'witx·it.[35] Lēx̣ā't[1] Lq!eyō'qt[4] Lqagē'lak[36] as[37] nō'L!îx̣[38]
They rested. One old woman and a little

igō'pōnɛm[29] a'qa[17] iLoqō'ptit.[39] Q!oā'p[40] ē'ktɛlīL[41] qiLx̣E'qo-îtq[42]
it was dark then she slept. Near morning star she arose

La'x̣i[13] Lq!eyō'qt[4] Lqagē'lak.[36] A'qa[17] tā'nki[43] igē'xox.[44] ILgiltcɛ'maq[45]
that old woman. Then something was (there). She heard

q!a'ē q!a'ē q!a'ē[46] tā'nki[43] igē'xox[44] icî'qēpa.[47] ILxLō'x̣oa-it[21] La'x̣i[13]
noise of a crack opening something was the door at. She thought that

Lq!eyō'qt:[4] "Lx̣uan[25] sāq°[48] iqantcî'txam.[49] Nî'x̣ua[50] antcuqō'yutc-
old one: "Perhaps war some one comes to make on us. Well I awoke

qɛma[51] tê'lx̣am.[8]" A'qa[17] iLktuqō'yutcq,[52] ac[37] qɛnɛ'mkatix̣[53] ta-îtci[10]
them the people." Then she woke them, and remaining quiet those

tê'lx̣am[8]. Iguxoā'qo-îtq[54] ta-îtci[10] tê'lx̣am.[8] Iguxoalā'yutck.[55]
people. They arose those people. They arose.

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[25] Perhaps related to *-Lōxo-* TO THINK (see note 21); compare *mɪLō'x̣uan tci q!oā'pix̣* DO YOU THINK IT IS NEAR? 26.5.

[26] Demonstrative adverb (see § 44).

[27] *na-* locative prefix (§ 40); *-qēlēm* stem for a place name south of Columbia river; *Tqēlē'muks* THE PEOPLE OF *Naqē'lēm* (NEHELIM), the Tillamook.

[28] *t-* plural; *-iā'-* HIS; *-k!ēlak* ROASTED, DRIED SALMON; *-ix̣* adverbial ending; WHERE THERE ARE THEIR ROASTED SALMON, the native name of Clatsop. In the Clatsop dialect the name *LĀ'tsɛp* has the same meaning; *LĀ-* THEIR; *-tsɛp* ROASTED, DRIED SALMON.

[29] *igō-* transitional and directive; *-pōl* NIGHT; *-pōnɛm* IT IS ALWAYS NIGHT (see § 8).

[30] AGAIN corresponding to Lower Chinook *weɣt*.

[31] *qē'q!ayak* THE MIDDLE OF A THING.

[32] *w-* nominal prefix (§ 17); *ā-* feminine; *-pōl* NIGHT; *-pa* AT, IN.

[33] Onomatopoetic particle verb.

[34] *igō-* transitional intransitive third person plural; *-x-* reflexive; *-oa-* changed from *o* after *ō;* *-x* TO DO.

[35] *iguɣoa-* third person plural before *k* sound (§ 19); *-qēwit* TO REST; *-x·it* suffix (§ 29).

[36] *L-* indefinite; *-qagē'lak* WOMAN.

[37] *as, ac* connective conjunction, sometimes used for WHILE.

[38] *nōL!* A LITTLE; *nō'L!îx·* adverb.

[39] *iL-* indefinite transitional; *-ō-* directive; *-qōptit* TO SLEEP.

[40] NEARLY, NEAR BY; also *q!oā'pix̣* ALMOST.

[41] Stem *-ktɛlīL*.

[42] *qiL-* see note 6; *-x̣-* reflexive; *-qo-ltq* TO ARISE.

[43] *tān* WHAT; *Lān* WHO; *tā'nki* SOMETHING.

[44] *igē-* transitional third person masculine; *-x-* reflexive; *-o-* directive; *-x* TO DO.

[45] *iLgi-* IT HIM; *-l-* is probably the prefix TO (§ 25); stem *-tcɛmaq* TO HEAR; the terminal *-aq* may also be a suffix.

[46] An onomatopoetic particle.

[47] *i-* masculine; *-ci'qē* DOORWAY; *-pa* AT.

[48] A particle verb (see p. 46).

[49] *i-* transitional; *-q-* SOME ONE; *-ntc* inclusive plural; *-l* TO COME; *-x* TO DO; *-am* TO ARRIVE.

[50] *nix̣ua* corresponds almost exactly to the German "doch;" here it might be translated ANYWAY.

[51] *a-* future; *-ntc-* I THEM; *-u* directive; *-qōtcq* plural; *-qōyutcq* TO AWAKEN; *-ɛm* distributive; EACH ONE (?); *-a* future.

[52] *iLkt-* IT THEM.

[53] Perhaps *qān* QUIET; distributive *qanɛma; -katix·* adverbial suffix; compare Chinook *ia'xkati* RIGHT THERE; *q!oā'pkati* QUITE NEAR.

[54] *igo-* transitional third person plural; *-x̣oa-* reflexive after *o; -qo-ltq* TO ARISE.

[55] *igoxoa-* see note 54; *-latck* plural; *-lāyutck* TO ARISE; this word contains the inchoative *-tck*, and may be the stem *-l* TO MOVE.

Itgō'guiga[56] tgā'qamatcx.[57] Iqlō'lxam[58] Laxi[13] Lēxā't:[1] "Wār[59a] ā'xa[60]
They took their arrows. He was told that one: "Light do it
wu'xi[13] ā'tōL.[61]" Wāx[59] iLE'kox[62] La'xi[13] LgoaLē'lx.[63] A'qa[17] tā'nki[43]
that fire." Light he did that person. Then something
Lāx[59] igē'xox[44] icî'qepa.[47] Lxuan[25] ā'wima[64] îctā'qa-iLax[65] siā'xôst[66]
visible became the door at. Perhaps thus its largeness its face
La[67] LktemEnā'kstē.[68] Igugoā'k·îm[69] ta-îtci[10] tê'lxam:[8] "Iqctxē'Lau[70]
like the moon like. They said those people: "A monster
ya'xi[13] alîlxgē'tpqa.[71]" Igē'k·îm[69] ya'xi[13] iqē'qtcxam:[2] "Iqcxē'Lautci?[72]
that he will come in." He said that the one who sang the conjurer's song: "A monster is it?
Lā'xka[73] La'xi[13] Lqleyō'qt[4] iLxētElō'tcxam[20] iLgEmcîtqoē'mam." [74]
he that old one he came to see the dance he came to give you food."
Qōct[75] igē'pixL[76] yaxī'yax[77] igixElō'tcxam.[78] Tiā'maq[79] iqtē'lôx,[80]
Behold a sea lion that he came to see the dance. His shots they made on it,
kōpa'[81] iō'maqt.[82] KElā'îx[83] cā'xalîx[83] ya'xi[13] ē'Lxam,[8] tatc!a
there it died. Far up that town, never-theless
iuquē'wulxt[84] ya'xi[13] igē'pîxL.[76] A'qa[17] itgixE'lEmux[85] ta-îtci[10]
It went up that sea lion. Then they ate those
tê'lxam,[8] ta-îtci[10] igē'taxelō'tcxē.[86] Oxuē'lutcx[86] ya'xi[13] ē'tcxampa.[37]
people, those who had come to see the dance. They saw the dance that song at.
KloaLqē' Lā'yuLEmax[88] ā'nqa[89] Laxanakcō'ngut[7] nai'ka[3] tgE'qlēyuq·
Thus then supernatural helper long ago Laxanakcō'ngut I my ancestors.
tîkc.[4]

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[56] *itgō-* THEY THEM; *-gEl* after *ō* changed to *-gui;* stem *-ga* TO TAKE.

[57] *t-* plural; *tgā-* THEIR; *-qamatcx* ARROW.

[58] *iqL-* SOME ONE HIM; *-ō-* directive; *-lxam* TO SAY.

[59] Onomatopoetic particle verb.

[60] Imperative of transitive verb without subject; *ā-* feminine object; *-x* TO DO; *-a* future.

[61] *a-* feminine; *-tōL* FIRE.

[62] Probably *i-* transitional; *L-* IT; *-k* indicating preceding transitive subject; *-a-* HER; *-x* TO DO.

[63] Probably from the stem *-ēlx* PLACE, COUNTRY.

[64] *ē'wa* THUS; distributive *ā'wimax* (?)

[65] *i-* masculine; *-ctā-* THEIR TWO SIDES, relating to the following dual noun FACE; *-qa-iLax* LARGENESS.

[66] *s-* dual; *-iā'*; HIS; *-xôst* FACE, EYES.

[67] *La* JUST LIKE.

[68] In Chinook *ōkLE'mĕn* is used for MOON. After the death of a man named *KLE'mEn*, whose guardian spirit was the moon, the Kathlamet discarded the word *akLE'mEn*, which corresponds to the Lower Chinook form, and used *aka'im* instead (see *Lkaemu'ks* Kathlamet Texts 27.3). The word at this place corresponds to the plural of the Lower Chinook, and should read perhaps *LkLEmEna'ks* (see Chinook Texts 245.18); the ending *-tē* LIKE (see § 55).

[69] *igu-* transitional third person plural; *-goa-* inserted before stem in *k;* *-k'îm* TO SAY; see note 18.

[70] Stem *-qctxē'Lan.*

[71] *al-* future before vowels (§ 17); *i-* HE; *-lx-* US; *-gēt* COMING TO; *-pq* INTO; *-a* future.

[72] *tci* interrogative particle.

[73] *ia'xka, a'xka, La'xka* HE, SHE, IT.

[74] *i-* transitional; *LgEmc-* IT YOU; *-t* TO COME; *-qoēm* TO GIVE FOOD; *-am* TO ARRIVE.

[75] An exclamation.

[76] Stem *-gē'pi·xL.*

[77] Demonstrative, see § 44.

[78] *igi-* transitional intransitive; *-xEl* reflexive ON BEHALF OF THEMSELVES; *-ō-* directive; *-tcxam* TO GO TO SEE.

[79] *t-* plural pronun; *-iā-* HIS; *-maq* THE ACT OF SHOOTING.

[80] *iqtēl-* SOMEBODY THEM ON HIM; *-o-* directive; *-x* TO DO, TO MAKE.

[81] Perhaps better *gō-pa'* THERE AT.

[82] *i-* masculine; *-o-* directive; *-maqt* TO DIE, singular.

[83] Both words contain the adverbial ending *-lx.*

[84] From a stem *-qē* TO GO UP; *-wulxt* UP.

[85] *itgi-* THEY HIM; *-xE'lEmux* used here as a transitive verb; more commonly intransitive *itixE'lEmux* THEY AT, IN REFERENCE TO HIM; stem *-mux.*

[86] See note 20; *-xēlōtcx* TO WITNESS A DANCE; *ō-* third person plural; *gē'taxelō'tcxē* is nominal, probably THE ONES WHO HAD THEIR WITNESSING; *g-* nomen actoris; *i-* masculine; *-ta* THEIRS.

[87] See note 2; *ē'tcxam* THE CONJURER'S SONG THAT IS SUNG; *-pa* AT.

[88] *Lā-* THEIRS; *-yūLEma* SUPERNATURAL BEING.

[89] In Lower Chinook *ā'nqatē.*

WISHRAM TEXT[1]

By EDWARD SAPIR

COYOTE AND ITC!E'ẋYAN

Aga[2]	kwô'pt[3]	gayu'ya[4]	isk!u'lya[5]	wi'tlax.[6]	Nā'2wit[7]	gayu'yam;[8]
Now	then	he went	Coyote	again.	Straightway	he arrived going;
galixE'ltcmaq[9]	isk!u'lya	gwā'nîsîm[10]	qtułatła'mɛlqt[11]	idɛ'lẋam[12]		
he heard	Coyote	always	they (indef.) are always swallowing them down	the people		

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[1] A connected English translation of this text will be found in Sapir's Wishram Texts, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, II, 41, 43. The Indian text as here given has been very slightly normalized from its form as there published (pp. 40, 42).

[2] Used partly with weak temporal force, partly as mere connective in narrative. It is frequently practically untranslatable into English.

[3] *kwôpt*, THEN, AT THAT TIME, is regularly used with preceding *aga* to mark new step in narrative. It can be analyzed into demonstrative stem *kwô-* (or *kwa-*) THAT (= Chinook *gō* THERE) and local suffix *-pt* UP TO (SO AND SO) FAR. Neither of these elements occurs freely. *kwô-* is not used to form demonstrative pronouns, only occurring stereotyped in several adverbs; besides *kwôpt* we have *kwô'ba* THERE (note 39), and *kwô'dau* AND (note 46). *-pt* also hardly seems to occur except stereotyped in adverbs; cf. *dapt* AS FAR AS THIS (related to *da'ba*, THIS-IN-HERE, as *kwôpt* is to *kwô'bc*), and *yaẋpt*, AS FAR AS THAT YONDER, from *ya'ẋi* OFF YONDER). See also note 56.

[4] *ga-* (*gal-* before vowels) = tense prefix denoting remote past, regularly used in myth narrative. *-y-* = 3d per. masc. subj. intr., referring to *isk!u'lya*, before consonants it would appear as *-i-*, while *gal-* would then appear as tense prefix (*ga-y-* = *gal-i-*: see notes 9, 28, 32, 47). *-u-* = directive prefix AWAY FROM SPEAKER. *-ya* = verb stem TO GO.

[5] *i-* = masc. noun prefix with which *-y-* in *gayu'ya* is in agreement. *-sk!u'lya* = noun stem COYOTE, apparently not capable of analysis; perhaps loan-word from Klickitat *spi'lya*. Chinook has another stem, *-t!ā'lapas*.

[6] Composed of *wi't!a* AGAIN and deictic particle *-x:* cf. *da'uya* (note 54) and *da'uyax* THIS. *wi't!a* is most plausibly explained as stereotyped adverb from *wi-*, masc. noun prefix (originally independent masc. pronoun? See notes 19 and 33), and *-t!a*, emphatic particle added to pronouns, TOO, ALSO (see note 21). According to this analysis *wi't!a(x)* was originally formed from **wi* as *ya'ẋt!a(x)* HE TOO from *ya-ẋ-* HE. Originally it must have meant THAT (masc.) TOO, but was later generalized in meaning.

[7] Rhetorically lengthened form of *nu'it* IMMEDIATELY, RIGHT AWAY. When thus lengthened to *nū'wit*, it seems to imply direct, unswerving motion without interference of other action; it may then be rendered as STRAIGHT ON or ON AND ON.

[8] As in note 4, except that instead of verb stem *-ya* we have its shorter form *-y-* *-i-* (as in *yu'it* HE GOES; cf. also note 61). To this is suffixed verb suffix *-am* ARRIVE WHILE —ING, GO (or COME) TO DO——. Several verb stems have two forms,—one in *-a*, and one without this *-a* (e. g., *-pa* and *-p* TO GO OUT; cf. *galu'pa* SHE WENT OUT with *atpẋ* SHE COMES OUT).

[9] *gal-* = tense prefix *ga-* before vowels. *-i-* = 3d per. masc. obj. before reflexive element (reflexive verbs have, morphologically speaking, no subject). *-xɛl-* = indirect reflexive composed of reflexive element *-x-* and local verb prefix *-l-* TO, INTO. *-tcmaq* = verb stem TO HEAR. *galixE'ltcmaq* means literally TO HIMSELF HEARD. TO HEAR SOME ONE is expressed by *-x-tcmaq* with prefixed transitive subject and object pronominal elements.

[10] Adverb not capable of analysis.

[11] *q-* = indefinite transitive subj. *-t-* = 3d per. pl. obj. tr., referring to *idɛ'lẋam*. *-u-* = directive prefix (very many verbs have this "directive" *-u-* even when no definite idea of direction away from speaker seems to be implied). *-łat!amɛlq-* is example of rarely occurring compound verbs. *-łat!a-* is "diminutive" form of verb stem *-łada-* TO THROW DOWN, AWAY (in this case its meaning seems to correspond somewhat more closely to that of its Chinook cognate *-Łata* TO PULL BACK); *-mɛlq-* is best explained as verb stem *-mɛg-* (or *-mq-*) TO VOMIT with infixed *-l-* of frequentative or continuative significance (that *-l-* is not really part of stem is shown by form *itciułat!a'maq* HE SWALLOWED HIM DOWN); PULL BACK + VOMIT may be construed as meaning VOMIT BACKWARD, DRAW TO ONE'S SELF AND SWALLOW. *-t* = tense suffix of present time. Observe peculiar sequence of tense, HE *HEARD* . . . THEY *SWALLOW* THEM DOWN. Verbs that are dependent on other verbs, chiefly of saying or perception, are always present in tense, no matter what tense is logically implied; cf. below *gatcigE'lkɛl* . . . *iki'ax* (note 43) HE *SAW* IT . . . IT *IS*.

itc!ɛ'ẋyan.[13] Qxa'damt[14] gayu'y'[15] iknî'm[16] nā'wit gatcigɛ'lga[17]
Merman. Whither it went the canoe straightway he got hold of it

itc!ɛ'ẋyan; gatciułat!a'mɛlq[18] kā'nawi[19] dan.[20] "Nait!'[21] a'g'[22]
Merman; he always swallowed it down every thing. "Me too now

atcnułat!a'mɛlɛqɛma," [23] isk!u'lya galixłu'ẋwa-it.[24] Aga kwô'pt
he will swallow me down," Coyote he thought. Now then

gayu'y' isk!u'lya; gatcigɛ'lga yag'aił[25] ik!a'munaq.[26] Aga kwô'pt
he went Coyote; he got hold of it its bigness the tree. Now then

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[13] *id-* = 3d per. pl. noun prefix, in concord with *-i-* in preceding verb. *-ɬẓam* (*-E-* is inorganic) = noun stem VILLAGE (*wi'ɬẓam* VILLAGE is formally masc. sing. of *idE'ɬẓam* PEOPLE); *-ɬẓam* is evidently related to *-ɬẓ* (see note 33).

[13] *i-* as in note 5. *-tc!Eẓyan* = noun stem MERMAN, PROTECTOR OF FISHERMEN (see Wishram Texts, p. 40, note 2; p. 42, note 2; p. 256, note 2); no etymology suggests itself. Syntactically *itc!E'ẓyan* is subject implied, but not grammatically referred to, by *q-* of preceding verb. This clause can hardly be considered as quite correct; properly speaking, *itc!E'zyan* should go with *ɛtcułat!a'mɛlqt*.

[14] From interrogative stem *qxa-* (or *qa-*), seen also in *qa'xba* WHAT-IN? = WHERE? *qa'ẋia* OF WHAT KIND? and *qa'ngi* WHAT-WITH? = HOW? *-damt* = local suffix TOWARD found suffixed to several adverbs (cf. *ca'xaladamt* TOWARD ABOVE, *gigwa'ladamt* TOWARD BELOW). This *-damt* is evidently related to local noun suffix *-iamt* TO, FROM. *Qxa'damt* here introduces indirect question, and may best be translated as NO MATTER WHERE.

[15] = *gayu'ya*. Final vowels are regularly elided when following word begins with vowel. For analysis of form, see note 4.

[16] *i-* as in note 5. *-knîm* = noun stem CANOE. This stem can be only secondarily monosyllabic, for otherwise we should have * *wiknîm* (see note 33); its Chinook cognate *-kanîm* shows original dissyllabic form. See also note 37.

[17] *ga-* = tense prefix as in note 4. *-tc-* = 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to following *itc!E'ẓyan* as subject. *-i-* = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to *iknî'm* of preceding clause as object. *-gɛl-* = verb prefix of adverbial force, TOWARD (with purpose, intent to reach); it here replaces directive *-u-* of most transitive verbs. *-ga* = verb stem TO GET HOLD OF, SEIZE; it is possibly to be identified with verb stem *-ga* STICK TO, its particular active significance being gained by use of transitive pronominal prefixes and verb prefix *-gɛl-*.

[18] *ga-tc-i-* as in note 17, *-i-* here referring to following *dan*. *-u-łat!a'-mɛlq* as in note 11.

[19] *ka'nawi* ALL, EVERY is most probably compounded of *kana-* ALL TOGETHER (found in such numeral forms as *ka'nactmôkct* ALL-THE-TWO = BOTH and, with unexplained *-m-*, in *kanɛmłu'nikc* ALL THREE PEOPLE) and old 3d per. masc. demonstrative pronoun **wi* (cf. note 6) now no longer preserved as such (except in such petrified words as *wi't!a* and *ka'nawi*), but specialized, like its corresponding fem. *wa-*, as 3d per. noun prefix (see note 33). These old pronouns **wi* and **wa* are best explained as substantivized from pronominal elements *-i-* (masc.) and *-a-* (fem.) by means of demonstrative element *w-* (or *u-*); this latter element is probably identical with *-u-* in demonstrative stem *da'u-* THIS (found also as *da-*; see note 54), and with Chinook *-ō-* in demonstratives near 3d per. (*x·ōLa, x·ōcta, x·ōta*). *ka'nawi* must originally have meant something like ALL (OF) THAT (masc.), but, like *wi't!a*, was later generalized in significance. *ka'nawi* is here, as often, rhetorically lengthened to *kā'nawi* to emphasize its meaning of TOTALITY.

[20] Interrogative and indefinite pronoun referring to things, WHAT, ANYTHING, SOMETHING. Though not provided with any sign of gender, it is always construed as masculine, hence *-i-* in *gatciułat!a'mɛlq*. Its correlative *can* (Kathlamet *Lan*) referring to persons, WHO, ANYBODY, SOMEBODY, is always neuter in gender; HE SWALLOWED EVERYBODY DOWN would be *gatciułat!a'mɛlq kā'nawi can*.

[21] Elided from *na'it!a* (see note 15). Composed of 1st per. sing. pronominal stem *nai-* (seen also in *na'ika* I) and emphatic suffix *-t!a* TOO, ALSO (see note 6). All independent pronouns in *-ka* can be changed to emphatic pronouns by merely replacing *-ka* by *-t!a* (e. g., *ya'ẋka* HE becomes *ya'ẋt!a* HE TOO). Syntactically *na'it!a* here anticipates *-n-* in following verb (see note 23) as 1st per. sing. obj.

[22] = *a'ga* (see note 15). This particle is very frequently used before future verb forms in conversation.

[23] *a-* = tense prefix of future time. *-tc-* = 3d per. masc. tr. subj. *-n-* = 1st per. sing. tr. obj. *-u-łat!a'-mɛlɛq-* as in note 11 (*-E-* before *-q-* is inorganic). *-ɛm-* = connective before future suffix *-a*; verbs that are continuative or frequentative in form regularly use this connective *-ɛm-* before certain suffixes (such as future *-a*, cessative *-ick*, usitative *-nil*). *-a* = tense suffix of future time; in Wishram verbs regularly form their future by prefixing *a-* or *al-* (before vowels) and suffixing *-a*. It is somewhat difficult to see why this form should be frequentative; one would rather except *atcnułat!a'mɛqwa*.

[24] *gal-i-* as in note 9. *-x-* = reflexive element; literal translation of verb would be (TO) HIMSELF THOUGHT. *-łuq(w)-* = verb stem TO THINK. *-a-it* = verb suffix of rather uncertain significance here; it is found in all tenses of verb but present, where it is replaced by *-an* (*ixlu'ẋwan* HE THINKS).

[25] *ya-* = *i-ya-*. *i-* = masc. noun prefix, determining gender of noun stem *-gail*. *-ya-* = 3d per. masc. possessive pronominal prefix, referring to masculine noun *ik!a'munaq*. *-gail* = abstract noun stem BIGNESS. *yagail ik!a'munaq* THE TREE'S BIGNESS may, like all other possessive constructions, be construed either attributively (THE BIG TREE) or predicatively (THE TREE IS BIG). Its attributive character is here determined by presence of true verb (*gatcigE'lga*) as predicate.

[26] *i-* as in note 5. *-k!a'munaq* = noun stem TREE, STICK, WOOD. This word is difficult of etymologic analysis, yet can be no simple stem; *-k!a-* is undoubtedly to be regarded as noun prefix (cf. *ik!a'lamat* ROCK, perhaps from verb stem *-la* TO MOVE). *-k!a-* is most plausibly considered as "diminutive" form of verb stem *-ga-* TO FLY, UP IN AIR (as first element in compound verbs); cf. *itciuk!wa'la* HE WHETTED IT with *itci'ula* HE FILED IT, and *tx.iugwała'da-ułẓ* I THREW IT UP ON TOP (OF SOMETHING) with *iniula'da-ułẓ* I THREW IT UP.

ʟa'x[27] gali'xôx.[28] Gatcigᴇ'lga itcɬᴇ'ẋyan, gaqiuɬatɬa'mᴇlᴇq.[29]
in sight he made himself. He got hold of him merman, they (indef.) swallowed him down.

Nā'wit iɬtcqô'ba[30] gi'gwal[31] iskɬu'lyᴀ galixi'maẋitam[32] wi'lẋba.[33]
Straightway in the water below Coyote he arrived falling on the ground

Aga kwô'pt gatcugi'kᴇl[34] ɬgabla'd[35] idᴇ'lẋam; ɬgabla'd[36] aknî'm[37]
Now then he saw them their multitude the people; their multitude the canoes

aẋu'xt[38] kwô'ba[39] gi'gwal iɬtcqô'ba. Aga kwô'pt gatcigᴇ'lkᴇl[40]
they are piled together there below in the water. Now then he saw it

iskɬu'lya itcɬᴇ'ẋyan yagô'mᴇnił[41] qxwôʟ[42] iki'ax.[43] Aga kwô'pt
Coyote Merman his heart hanging it is. Now then

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[27] Particle verb. Though verbal in force, it is purely adverbial morphologically, having no grammatical form of its own. In regard to tense and person it is defined by following verb, which serves as its form-giving auxiliary.

[28] *ga-l-i-* as in note 9. *-x-* = reflexive element. *-ô-* (modified from *-u-* because of preceding and following velar consonants) = directive prefix; ordinarily reflexive *-x-* replaces directive *-u-*, but there are several verbs that retain it even when reflexive in form. *-x* = verb stem TO DO, MAKE. *-x-u-x* TO DO TO ONE'S SELF, MAKE ONE'S SELF, is regularly used to mean BECOME. For other forms of verb stem *-x* see notes 43, 53, 64, and 66.

[29] *ga-* as in note 4. *-q-* = indefinite tr. subj. *-i-* = 3d per. masc. tr. obj. *-u-ɬatɬa'-mᴇlᴇq* as in note 11. Forms with indefinite *-q-* subject are very commonly used in Wishram in lieu of passives.

[30] *iɬ-* = 3d per. neut. noun prefix. *-t-* = inorganic consonant, serving as glide between *ɬ* and *c*. *-cqô-* (= *-cqa-*; *a* is velarized to *ô* by preceding *q*) = noun stem WATER; its shorter form *-cq-* is seen in *ɬcta'cq* THE WATER OF THE TWO (Wishram Texts 190.14). *-ba* = local noun suffix IN, AT (see also notes 33, 39, and 60).

[31] Adverb; *-al* is probably not part of stem, for it is found also in correlative *ca'x-al* ABOVE.

[32] *ga-l-* as in note 9. *-i-* = 3d per. masc. intr. subj., referring to preceding *i-skɬu'lya*. *-xima-* = verb stem TO PUT DOWN, PUT ON GROUND, LAY DOWN (as tr.); LIE DOWN (as intr.); probably composed of *-x-* ON GROUND(?) and *-ima-* PUT (cf. *ga-ya-x-a'l-ima-ɬx* HE PUT HIMSELF INTO THE WATER [Wishram Texts 2.5]); whenever indirect object with *-k-* ON is introduced, *-x-ima-* becomes *-xa-ima-* (e. g., *ga-k-ɬ-a-k-xa'-ima* SHE LAID IT DOWN ON IT [Wishram Texts 2.11]). *-ẋit* = quasi-passive suffix; *-x-ima-ẋit-* = BE LAID DOWN, LAY ONE'S SELF DOWN, FALL DOWN TO GROUND. *-am* = verb suffix ARRIVE —— ING (cf. note 8).

[33] *wi-* = 3d per. masc. noun prefix; masc. noun stems that are non-syllabic or monosyllabic require *wi-* (cf. note 55); those that have more than one syllable have *i-* (see notes 5, 13, 16, 26); for probable origin of *wi-* see note 19. In Chinook *wi-* has entirely given way to *i-*, except as archaism in some place-names and in songs. *-lẋ-* = noun stem LAND; seen also in *wi'lẋam* VILLAGE, *idᴇ'lẋam* PEOPLE (see note 12); probably also in *wa'lẋi* FISHING STATION and *icᴇ'lẋlẋ* STAGING FOR FISHING. *-ba* as in note 30.

[34] *ga-* as in note 4. *-tc-* = 3d per. masc. tr. subj. *-u-* = 3d per. pl. obj., referring to following *idᴇ'lẋam* (before verb prefix *-gᴇl-* 3d per. plural obj. *-t-* is replaced by *-u-*, *-gᴇl-* then becoming *-g(w)i-*; in other words, *-t-* before *gᴇl-* is treated analogously to when it comes before *-gᴇl-*). *-gi-* = plural form of *-gᴇl-* (see note, 40) OUT FROM ENCLOSED SPACE (cf. *ga-l-a-gᴇ'l-ba* IT FLOWED OUT OF HER [Wishram Texts 94.4]); analogously to *-gᴇl-* (see note 17) directive *-u-* is here replaced by *-gᴇl-*. *-kᴇl* = verb stem TO KNOW (cf. *l-k-d-u'-kul* HE KNOWS THEM [Wishram Texts 176.10]); *-gᴇl-kᴇl* = TO KNOW FROM OUT ONE'S (EYES), hence TO SEE, GET SIGHT OF.

[35] *ɬ-* = 3d per. neut. noun prefix, defining gender of abstract noun stem *-blad*. *-ga-* = 3d per. pl. possessive pronominal prefix, referring to *idᴇ'lẋam*. *-blad* = noun stem MULTITUDE, GREAT NUMBER. *ɬgabla'd idᴇ'lẋam* is construed like *ya'gail ik!a'munaq* (see note 25).

[36] As in note 35, except that *-ga-* = 3d per. fem. possessive pron. prefix (merely homonymous with *-ga-* of note 35), referring to *aknî'm*.

[37] *a-* = 3d per. fem. noun prefix; though many fem. dissyllabic stems have *wa-* (e. g., *wala'la* POND), it is here replaced by analogy of *iknî'm* (see note 16), as in related nouns *i-* and *a-*, *wi-* and *wa-* generally pair off respectively. *-knim* as in note 16. Logically *aknî'm* CANOES is plural, morphologically it is fem., being so referred to in *aẋu'xt* (note 38); another example of fem. as plural is *wa'mwa* MAGGOTS, masc. *wi'mwa* MAGGOT.

[38] *a-* = 3d per. fem. intr. subj., referring to *aknî'm*. *-ẋ-* = verb prefix ON GROUND, ON BOTTOM (?) *-u-* = directive prefix. *-xt* = verb stem TO LIE, SIT, BE PLACED, corresponding in use to Chinook *-c*. This verb stem allows of no formal modification by means of tense affixes.

[39] Composed of demonstrative stem *kwô-* (see note 3) and local suffix *-ba* (see note 33): THAT-IN = THERE.

[40] As in note 34, except that incorporated obj. is *-i-* = 3d per. masc., referring to *yagô'mᴇnił*, and that *-gᴇl-* is unmodified.

[41] *ya-* = *i-ya-* as in note 25, *i-* defining HEART as masc. in gender, while *-ya-* refers to *itcɬᴇ'ẋyan*. *-gômᴇnił* HEART seems to be verbal in form, *-ᴇnił* being usitative suffix; *yagô'mᴇnił* may also be used predicatively to mean HE IS ALIVE.

[42] Particle verb, for which *iki'ax* serves as auxiliary.

[43] *i-* = 3d per. masc. intr. subj., referring to *yagô'mᴇnił*. *-kiax* TO BE is another tenseless verb (cf. note 38). It is best, though somewhat doubtfully, explained as composed of verb prefix *-ki-*, which shows lack of

gaqiu'lxam[43a] iskłu'lya: "Ya'xdau[43b] itcłE'xyan yagô'mEnił." Aga
they (indef.) told him Coyote: "That Merman his heart." Now

kwô'pt Lqłô'p[43c] gatci'ux;[43d] Lqłô'p[43c] gali'xôx[43e] itcłE'xyan yagô'mEnił.
then cut he made it; cut it made itself Merman his heart.

Aga kwô'pt kā'nawi gatkxEni'yutck[44] sā'q[u 45] aknî'm kwô'dau[46]
Now then all they each floated up out of water entirely the canoes and

idE'lxam kwô'dau iskłu'lya.
the people and Coyote.

Aga kwô'pt gali'kim[47] iskłu'lya: "Łga[48] pu[49] qā'ma[50] ma'ima[51]
Now then he said Coyote: "Perchance would how you alone

itcłE'xyan qxi'dau[52] amdu'xwa[53] idE'lxam? Da'uya[54] wi'gwa[55] aga
Merman thus you will do to them the people? This day now

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object of ordinarily trans. verb, and verb stem *-x* TO DO (cf. Eng. HE *DOES* WELL, i. e., gets along well); *-a-* would then have to be explained as inorganic glide vowel (cf. Chinook *i-kē'-x* HE IS and Wishram *i-ki'-x-ax* HE IS, HAS BECOME). For syntactic construction, as subordinated to *gatciqE'lkEl*, see note 11.

[43a] *ga-* as in note 4. *-q-* = indef. tr. subj. (cf. note 29). *-i-* = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to *iskłu'lya*. *-u-* = directive prefix. *-lxam* = verb stem TO SAY TO with personal object. This verb form is logically passive.

[43b] Demonstrative pronoun, showing location near 2d person, composed of simple form of independent 3d personal pronoun + demonstrative element *-x-* (cf. also ordinary forms of independent 3d personal pronoun *ya'x-ka* and similarly for other genders) + demonstrative stem *-dau* (= *-da* + *-u*), for which see note 54. Syntactically *ya'xdau*, here used substantively, agrees in gender with *yaqô'mEnił*, to which it refers. There is no expressed predicate in this sentence, *yaqô'mEnił* (IT IS) HIS HEART being so used.

[43c] Particle verb, to which following verbs *gatci'ux* and *gali'xôx*, both from verb stem *-x* TO DO, serve as auxiliaries. *Lqłôp* doubtless has onomatopoetic force.

[43d] See note 64.

[43e] As in note 28. CUT IT-MADE-ITSELF = IT BECAME CUT.

[44] *ga-* as in note 4. *-t-* = 3d per. pl. intr. subj., referring to *aknî'm*, *idE'lxam*, and *iskłu'lya* as combined plural subject. *-k-* = regular replacement of directive *-u-* whenever intr. subj. *-t-* would theoretically be expected to stand before it. *-xEni-* (or *-xuni-*) = verb stem TO FLOAT, DRIFT. *-yu-* = distributive suffix EACH SEPARATELY (*gatkxEni'tck* would mean THEY FLOATED UP IN ONE BODY). *-tck* = local verb suffix UP TO SURFACE, UP FROM POSITION OF REST (cf. also *gal-i-x-lE'-tck* HE MOVED HIMSELF UP FROM SITTING POSITION, HE AROSE [Wishram Texts 4.6]; *gal-i'-kta-tck* HE ROSE (STICKING HIS HEAD) OUT OF WATER [op. cit., 10.5]); combined with *-ba* OUT OF INTERIOR, *-tck* appears as *-ptck* FROM WATER OUT TO LAND (*gatkxEni'yuptck* THEY EACH FLOATED ON TO LAND; for change of *-ba* to *-p* cf. *galagE'lba* with *lagE'lpx* [Wishram Texts 94.7]). This *-tck* should be distinguished from *-tck* of cessative significance, whose function it is to deprive verbs that are continuative or frequentative in form of their continuative force (e. g., *yuwi'lal* HE IS DANCING, *gayuwi'lalEmtck* HE WAS DANCING (but is no longer doing so).

[45] Adverbial in force. Logically *sa'q[u]* (rhetorically lengthened to *sā'q[u]* to emphasize idea of totality) often seems to be used attributively with nouns (translated as ALL), but grammatically it is best considered as adverbial, even when there is no expressed predicate.

[46] Composed of demonstrative stems *kwô-* (see note 3) and *dau-* (see note 54). Its original significance was evidently THAT (which precedes) and THIS (which follows).

[47] *gal-i-* as in note 32. *-kim* = verb stem TO SAY (without personal object; cf. note 58).

[48] Adverb of modal significance, serving to give doubtful coloring to verb.

[49] Adverb of potential and conditional significance; in formal conditions introduced by *cma'nix* IF, it often has contrary-to-fact implication. This use of modal particles in lieu of verb modes is characteristic of Chinookan.

[50] Evidently contains interrogative stem *qa-* WHAT, seen also in *qxa'damt* (note 14). *-ma* can not be explained. This word has been found only in such passages as here, and is very likely felt to be archaic. *łga pu qā'ma* occurs as stereotyped myth-phrase in transformer incidents (cf. Wishram Texts 6.13, 38.6, for similar passages).

[51] Forms in *-aima* ALONE may be formed from simplest forms of personal pronouns (subject intr. incorporated); e. g., *na'ima* I ALONE, *ma'ima* YOU ALONE, *ya'ima* HE ALONE. It is doubtful, however, whether these forms should be considered as intransitive verbs from verb stem *-aima*. Since personal plurals in *-dikc* (e. g., *la'imadikc* THEY ALONE) occur, it seems preferable to consider them as formed by suffixed *-ma* ALONE? (cf. *qā'ma* note 50) from independent pronoun stems in *-ai-* (as in *na'ika*, note 57, and *na'it!a*, note 21); this *-ai-* is in these forms found also in 3d persons (e. g., *la'ima* IT ALONE, as contrasted with *la'xka* and *la'xt!a*). Chinook *nā'mka* I ALONE, analyzed by Boas as intr. subj. pronoun + verb stem *-āmka*, is probably best explained as simple independent pronoun in *-a-* (*na*, *ma*, and corre-

kwô'pt[56] qxi'dau amdu'xwa idɛ'lxam. Na'ika[57] iskłu'lya yamu'lxam.[58]
that far thus you will do to them the people. I Coyote I have told you.

Kwa'ic[59] da'uyaba[60] wi'lx atgadi'mama[61] idɛ'lxam. Kwô'pt
Soon in this land they will arrive coming the people. Then

alugwagi'ma,[62] 'Qxi'dau 'ɛx[63] gatci'ux[64] iskłu'lya itcłɛ'xyan.'
they will say, 'Thus exercising supernatural power he did to him Coyote Merman.'

Kwô'pt a'ga itcłɛ'xyan pła'l'[65] amxu'xwa."[66]
Then now Merman being quiet you will make yourself."

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sponding forms for other persons occur not rarely in Wishram) + *-m(a)* + *-ka* JUST, ONLY (cf. *łu'nka* JUST THREE).

[52] Adverb composed of relative particle *qxi-* (cf. *qxi* as relative pronoun in Wishram Texts, 188.1) and demonstrative stem *dau-* THIS (cf. note 54). *qxi'dau* thus means literally AS, LIKE THIS.

[53] *a-* = tense prefix of future time. *-m-* = 2d per. sing. tr. subj. *-d-* = 3d per. pl. tr. obj., referring to *idɛ'lxam*. *-u-* = directive prefix. *-x-* = verb stem TO DO (TO). *-w-* = inorganic consonant induced by *-u-* preceding *k-* sound. *-a* = future suffix.

[54] Demonstrative pronoun, showing location near 1st person, composed of demonstrative stem *dau-* (= *da-*, as in *da'ba* HERE + *-u-*, see note 19) and simple form of 3d per. independent pronoun in *-a* (masc. *ya*, fem. *a*, neut. *la*, du. *cda*, pl. *da*). Forms without *-a-* (e. g., *da'ya*) occur, though much less frequently; deictic *-x* may be added without material change in meaning (e. g., *da'uyax* or *da'yax*). *-dau* also occurs as second element in demonstrative pronouns showing location near 2d person (e. g., *ya'xdau* THAT masc., note 43b). *da'uya* is here masculine because in agreement with masc. noun *wi'gwa*. Chinook seems to preserve *da-* only in isolated adverbs like *ta'kɛ* THEN (= *da'ka* JUST THIS or THAT [cf. Wishram *da'uka* JUST SO]).

[55] *wi-* = masc. noun prefix, with *w-* because noun stem is monosyllabic. *-gwa* = noun stem DAY. *da'uya wi'gwa* THIS DAY is regularly used as stereotyped phrase for TO-DAY; *dau' aqa'lax* THIS SUN is also so used.

[56] Analysis given in note 3. Here *kwô'pt*, with well-marked stress accent, preserves its literal meaning of THAT FAR, THUS MUCH, *aqa kwô'pt* being regularly used, outside of narrative, to mean ENOUGH. Chinook *kapê't* ENOUGH is doubtless related, but *ka-* can not be directly equated with *kwô-*, which corresponds rather to Chinook *gō* (see note 3).

[57] Ordinary form of independent personal pronoun, composed of stems in *-ai-* (for 1st and 2d persons) or *-a-x-* (for 3d persons) and suffixed particle *-ka* JUST, ONLY, found also suffixed to numerals. *na'ika* is here grammatically unnecessary, but is used to emphasize subject of following verb form.

[58] = *iyamu'lxam*. *i-* = tense prefix of immediate past time. *-yam-* = combination of 1st per. sing. subj. and 2d per. sing. obj. *-u-* = directive prefix. *-lxam* = verb stem TO SAY TO with expressed personal object.

[59] Temporal adverb referring to action just past or about to occur, either JUST NOW, RECENTLY, or SOON. Seems to be Klickitat loan-word.

[60] *da'uya* as in note 54; masc. because in agreement with masc. noun *wilx*. *-ba* = local noun suffix IN regularly suffixed to demonstrative pronoun preceding noun instead of to noun itself.

[61] *a-* as in note 53. *-t-* = 3d per. pl. intr. subj., referring to *idɛ'lxam*. *-ga-* = element regularly introduced after 3d per. pl. intr. *-t-* before *-d-i-* TO COME and, before verb stems beginning with *k-* sounds, after 3d per. pl. intr. *-u-* (cf. note 62). *-d-i-* TO COME consists of *-d-* = directive prefix HITHER, TOWARD SPEAKER, correlative to directive *-u-*, and *-i-* = verb stem TO GO. *-mam-* = form of *-am-* (see notes 8 and 32) used after vowels. *-a* as in note 53.

[62] *al-* = tense prefix of future time employed before vowels (*al-* and *a-* used analogously to *gal-* and *ga-*). *-u-* = 3d per. pl. intr. subj. used, instead of *-t-*, before verb stems beginning with *k-* sounds (as here *-gim-*). *-gwa-* = *-ga-* as in note 61, *-w-* being inorganic, due to influence of *-u-* preceding *k-* sound (cf. note 53). *-gim-* = verb stem TO SAY; *-kim* (as in note 47) is used when accent immediately precedes, *-gim-* when suffix (here *-a*) is added and accent is pushed forward. *-a* as in note 53. In Chinook *-ugwa-* appears as *-ogo-* (*gwa* regularly becomes *go*); *alugwagi'ma* is paralleled in Chinook by *ogogoē'ma*.

[63] Particle verb TO USE SUPERNATURAL POWER, TRANSFORM, to which following *gatci'ux* serves as auxiliary. It is one of those very few Wishram words in which glottal catch is found (other words are *-tci*[c] OR, *'i'c*[c]*ic* BLUEJAY, *dala*[c]*a'x* PERHAPS).

[64] *ga-* as in note 4. *-tc-* = 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to *iskłu'lya*. *-i-* = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to *itcłɛ'xyan*. Observe that subject noun regularly precedes object noun, their order being thus analogous to that of incorporated pronouns with which they stand in apposition. *-u-* = directive prefix. *-x* = verb stem TO DO (TO).

[65] = *pła'la*. Particle verb, with which following *amxu'xwa* is used as auxiliary. *pła'l' amxu'xwa* QUIET YOU-WILL-BECOME (i. e., you will stop, desist).

[66] *a-* as in note 53. *-m-* = 2d per. sing. obj. with following reflexive element (see *-i-* in notes 9 and 28). *-x-* as in note 28. *-u-x-w-a* as in note 53.

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